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THE ANNOTATORS

OF THE

CODEx BEZAE

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# THE ANNOTATORS

OF THE

## CODEx BEZAE

(WITH SOME NOTES ON SORTES SANCTORUM)

BY

*James*

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THE ANNOTATORS  
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*The present condition of the Bezan problem.*

THE interest which attaches to the Codex Bezae arises partly out of the dignity which naturally belongs to the leading representative of what is known as the Western Text of the New Testament, and partly from the Sphinx-like character both of the MS. and of its text, for it seems hard to write satisfactorily the history of either the one or the other. All investigations which have hitherto appeared have something tentative and preliminary about them, and one condition of progress still lies in the assiduous contradiction by scholars of the positions of other scholars and the persistent and reciprocal exposition of errors and partial statements. We are thus driven into a more microscopic scrutiny of the problem, and if we do not know to-day all that we want to know concerning Codex Bezae and the Western Text, the probability is that we shall know it to-morrow, or that some one else will know it the day after to-morrow.

It will be remembered by all who are interested in the problem of the Bezan origins that in my *Study of Codex Bezae* I discussed at some length the asserted Gallican origin of the book and the traces of Gallicism on the Latin side of its text. Rejecting as improbable and undeserving of attention certain

suggestions which had been made by Schulz and Kipling that the Codex Bezae was written in Egypt, we proceeded to test *de novo* the general belief that it was written in France.

A striking confirmation of this belief was found in the fact that the system of *Sortes Sanctorum*, which was found to have been inscribed on the pages of the Codex Bezae in Greek somewhere about the tenth century, was also found in Latin in the pages of a famous Latin MS. belonging to the Abbey of S. Germain and dating from the tenth century; and we inferred from the proved consanguinity of the MSS. a probable collocality. This argument, whatever be its value, has not been invalidated.

In the next place we sought to identify the system of liturgical annotations which are found throughout the Codex with a possible Gallican usage, related more or less nearly to the Byzantine system. In this, as will be seen below, our judgment was much at fault, and the supposed verifications of Gallicism from liturgical use are not established.

We discussed the question whether Scholz had correctly stated that the home of the MS. was in Central Gaul, as an inference from the presence of Latin forms which might be described as Gallican; and pointed out that there was hardly one of the instances given by Scholz that would stand criticism.

But we proceeded to show, what had not previously been suspected, that the Bezan Latin was full of sixth-century transitional forms, which intimated that the Vulgar Latin of the original translator was far on its way to one or other of the Romance languages.

The point arose at once whether the language in question was French or Italian. The *pro* and *con* of the argument was not easy to estimate.

The form *ame amie* for *amice* (p. 21) seemed to suggest France rather than Italy. So did *hoernum* (p. 21) for *hodiernum*, and (p. 23) *hante* for *habente*; but on the other hand *fate* for *facite* (p. 22) seemed to be more Italian than French, and so did *no[c]te*, where some reader had erased the *c* as non-sonant.

On p. 26 it was stated "that the balance of the evidence is in favour of regarding the MS. as a Gallican rather than an

Italian production." In a later chapter on the 'Phonetics and Morphology' of the Codex, it was shown that there were cases like the use of *sum* for *sunt* which appeared to have an Italian flavour, and the suggestion was thrown out that the MS. had perhaps after all come to Lyons from the other side of the Alps.

It will be found that the further enquiry resolves itself into two separate questions, (i) what is the local origin of the Latin translators and transcribers? (ii) what is the nationality of the annotators? The two groups are separated by nearly three centuries, and a conclusion under one head is not necessarily the conclusion under the other. In three hundred years an Eastern MS. may move West, or a Western one may move East; a Northern MS. may move into Africa, or, with greater probability, an African MS. into Europe. We should, therefore, as far as possible, keep the questions apart; and for this reason our present volume will deal with the annotators rather than with the first translator or his succession of transcribers. And it may be noted in passing that when we actually come to the Latin text and its peculiarities, we shall have a peculiarly difficult task before us in separating those forms or tendencies which may properly be called Romance forms from those which are only Vulgar Latin: and the more we know about both, the slower we may perhaps be to say, either that this peculiarity is African Latin, or that the other is Romance French. But in all these cases we must go on criticising and being criticised until we know enough to say that we have found the truth. In this tract, however, we do not expect to go beyond the annotators, and we shall leave the early scribes and the translators alone for the present. Neither shall we be able to discuss in these pages the very important allied problems which concern the scholar who reads the Latin text of Irenaeus by the side of his Codex Bezae and notes the coincidences; or who studies the parallels between the Latin of the famous Lyons Pentateuch and the Latin of Codex Bezae.

If it could be assumed that Irenaeus' works were translated in his own church at Lyons, we could argue many things from the parallels between *d* and *Ir*<sup>int</sup> (to use the symbols of the

Apparatus Criticus). In the same way if we could argue that the Codex Lugdunensis had always been at Lyons<sup>1</sup>, we could register a number of Bezan forms as Gallican, in a more than tentative manner. But here also we must forbear for the present, and reserve what might be said for some other time or, which is perhaps better, delegate it to some other person.

It appears from this self-denial in the investigation that we are not discussing the question of the Bezan origins in the wide sense in which that question is usually asked. We are not asking whether its Latin text was made in Antioch or in Carthage or in Rome. Our problem is a subordinate one. But if subordinate, it is also co-ordinate, and the solution of it, if one can be rendered probable, will help greatly to the solution of the larger problem.

In any case, we are driven to the enquiry. On a number of sides doubts are being expressed as to whether the Codex Bezae is a French MS. at all. Dr Sanday suggests to me that it may have come from Ravenna; Mr Lake has publicly declared for Amalfi<sup>2</sup>; and my lamented friend M. Berger, while admitting the force of my argument from the Sortes Sanctorum in the Codex Bezae and in the S. Germain MS., went on to suggest that I carried ingenuity to the verge of paradox and that the only person who could solve the problem was Dr Sanday; both of which propositions may be true; if, however, only one of them is to be counted correct, we should naturally prefer the latter<sup>3</sup>! The feeling that we had come almost to an *impasse* in the history of the Codex Bezae has led the editors of the *Journal of Theological Studies* to invoke

<sup>1</sup> I was interested recently in noting, under this head, the occurrence of the form *mascle* for *masculus* in several passages of Numbers in Cod. Lugd. Is it not a peculiarly French (Provençal) spelling?

<sup>2</sup> *On the Italian Origin of Codex Bezae* in *Journal of Theol. Studies*, i. 441—445.

<sup>3</sup> Berger, *Un ancien texte des Actes des Apôtres*, p. 16. "Un rapprochement très ingénieux fait par M. R. Harris entre ce manuscrit et le célèbre manuscrit 15 de Saint-Germain tend à lui donner pour lieu d'origine la vallée du Rhône. Il est vrai que les corrections qu'il a reçues pendant longtemps de plusieurs écrivains qui savaient le grec jettent quelque doute sur cette hypothèse.... M. R. Harris, avec sa critique pénétrante mais quelquefois paradoxale, etc."



fresh discussion in the direction where least seemed to be satisfactorily known, viz. that of the annotators. And they asked for counsel's opinion with regard to the liturgical element in these annotations from Mr F. E. Brightman, who is in such matters an expert. The paper which he contributed to the *Journal* in question<sup>1</sup> will do much to help forward investigation. It corrects my own work in certain important points, and opens the way for a good deal of further investigation. It is the most valuable paper that has appeared on the subject for a long time. Moreover the incidental cause which produced this paper is one which will affect all scholars, viz. the fact that a trustworthy representation of the Codex Bezae is at last before the world.

The recent publication of the splendid Dujardin facsimile by the University of Cambridge has now put the MS. into the possession of all scholars who are within reach of large libraries, and we may expect fresh observations from many quarters. And the time has certainly come when a closer investigation should be made of the annotating hands, especially of those that have been so busy with the margins of the MS. as distinct from those that emend the text. For these hands ought to furnish data for the external history of the book. The following pages are a suggestion of the method that should or may be pursued.

### *General survey of the Correctors and Annotators.*

According to Scrivener, there are nearly twenty hands that have been engaged with the correction or annotation of the Bezan text; he denotes them, following a chronological order, for both correctors and annotators, by the successive letters of the alphabet, A, B, &c., and further discriminates these letters of the alphabet by suffixes, as M<sub>1</sub>, M<sub>2</sub>, &c., when the resolution of the separate individualities of the scribes is less certain than it normally is. We have thus the following series of correctors:

A B C D E F G H I J K L M M<sub>1</sub> M<sub>2</sub> M<sub>3</sub> M<sub>4</sub> N O O<sub>2</sub>,

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i. pp. 446—454.

a formidable list, in all conscience. We may tabulate some of Scrivener's conclusions with regard to the correctors and annotators represented by this alphabet, in the following form :

No. of changes in text or annotations		Cent.	Corr. Gr.	Corr. Lat.	Annot. Gr.	Annot. Lat.	Nation- ality?
181 in text	A	vi	yes	rarely	—	—	?
327 in text	B	vii	yes	yes	—	—	?
130 in text	C	vii fin.	yes	?	—	—	?
163 in text	D	vii fin.	yes	once	—	—	?
72 in text	E	vii fin.?	yes	rarely	—	—	Latin
34 in text	F	viii ? <sup>1</sup>	yes	once	—	—	?
283 in text	G	xi <sup>2</sup>	rarely	yes	—	—	Latin?
97 in text	H	xii ?	yes	rarely	—	—	?
2 annot.	I	ix	—	—	yes	—	?
1 in text )	J	ix	yes	yes	yes	—	?
4 annot.							
74 in text	K	modern	yes	rarely	—	—	?
1 in text )							
149 annot.	L	ix <sup>3</sup>	yes	—	yes	—	[Latin] <sup>5</sup>
12 annot.?	M	xii ?	—	—	lect. notes	—	?
32 annot.	M <sub>1</sub>	x ?	—	—	τίτλοι in Matt.	—	?
22 annot.	M <sub>2</sub>	x ? <sup>4</sup>	—	—	τίτλοι in John and Luke	—	?
69 annot.	M <sub>3</sub>	x	—	—	moral apo- phthegms in Mark	—	?
23 annot.	M <sub>4</sub>	x ?	—	—	lect. and liturg. notes	—	?
25 annot.	N	?	—	—	lect. notes in pencil	—	?
8 annot.	O	xii early	—	—	eight liturg. notes in Acts	—	?
1 annot.	O <sub>2</sub>	modern	—	—	one liturg. note in Acts	—	?

Now in surveying this table, with its twenty possible correctors and annotators, we shall be struck with some remarkable facts.

In the first place it will be observed that the MS. during the first half of its history underwent systematic correction

<sup>1</sup> vii according to Kenyon.

<sup>2</sup> vii according to Kenyon and earlier than F.

<sup>3</sup> Should be x.

<sup>4</sup> Should be at least ix, as we shall see.

<sup>5</sup> As we shall see later on.

chiefly on the Greek side, but during the whole of the period of correction there is not the least trace of its having been used for lectionary purposes. This is the more remarkable because the archetype from which it is derived has transmitted to the Bezan text some peculiarities which can hardly be explained except by lectionary usage, such for instance as Acts iii. 1,

ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις  
 πέτρος καὶ ἰωάννης ἀνέβαινον εἰς τὸ ἱερόν  
 τὸ δειλινὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ὥραν ἐνατῇ τῇ προσευχῆς,

where the first line looks like a lectionary preface<sup>1</sup>, and where we should even be tempted to regard τὸ δειλινόν as a note to the lector if it were not that there is a somewhat similar interjection of τὸ πρῶτ' in Acts v. 21. (The first line is also preserved in the closely allied Latin text from Perpignan to which M. Berger has drawn attention.) Moreover the very division of the archetype into *cola* and *commata* implies, as Euthalius allows, a division πρὸς εὐσημον ἀνάγνωσιν. It is, then, the more curious that the text of the Codex Bezae which from the sixth to the ninth century should have escaped liturgical use should from that time onward have passed through the hands of seven or eight persons who wished to adapt it to ecclesiastical usage. What is the meaning of this curious revival of Greek lessons to which our Codex seems to testify?

In the next place remark that, with all this wealth of Greek liturgical annotators, there is not a single Latin lesson marked. The text is free from any notes which intimate a single Latin feast day or a single Latin lectionary preface. Even the Latin correctors of the text (of whose nationality Scrivener gives conclusive evidence in one case, and we shall add presently a number of similar identifications) have not taken any pains to erect the Latin text to the dignity of a standard, if we except the annotators B and G, of whom B makes the Latin agree more closely with the Greek, and G reforms it in its spelling and occasionally deflects it in the

<sup>1</sup> If it be not a lectionary preface, then it must be compared with the wording of Acts i. 15 καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις ἀναστὰς Πέτρος κτέ. That is, it will be a storyteller's introductory or connecting formula.

direction of the Vulgate. And it would seem that the inference might be drawn that the Latin lectionary was already the Vulgate, when the Codex Bezae began to be used as an official Greek lectionary, and that Old Latin copies were at that time of day superannuated. At all events it is significant that the lectionary usage is entirely on the Greek side of the house, although some of those annotators who follow the usage are certainly bilingual. More curious still, there appears to be no attempt made to translate the *τίτλοι* which have been added by  $M_1$  and  $M_2$  at the head of pages of the Gospels, nor to translate the annotations (which we have shown to be a series of *sortes sanctorum*<sup>1</sup>) which were made at the foot of the pages in Mark by the scribe  $M_3$ . How does it come about that there were no persons who wanted their fortunes told in Latin? And the case would be the more surprising if (as has been suspected) the *sortes* were themselves a translation from a similar series in Latin. If that should turn out to be the case, we shall have to ask the question, why the Latin sentences were not also inserted: had councils of the Church fulminated against divination in Latin to tolerate it in Greek? And if not, what did the Latins mean by not coming to the Holy Gospels to have their fortunes told?

Let us, then, see whether we can find out anything further with regard to these correctors and annotators, and through them of the history of the MS.

And first of all with regard to the dates assigned to the different hands.

Mr Kenyon has pointed out (*Journal of Theol. Studies*, i. 296) that the hands denoted F and G are dated too late. G is a hand of the seventh century; it must be earlier than F, since no notice is taken by it in its corrections of the Latin of the additions which F has made to the Greek text. F itself, according to Kenyon, may be as early as the seventh century. If Kenyon is right, the hand denoted by G has been dated four centuries too late. We give a case such as Kenyon alludes to, in facsimile: viz. Acts ii. 30 (additions by G and F)<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See *Study of Cod. Bezae*, c. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Plate i. 1.



Kenyon further suggests that the hand L would better be assigned to the tenth century than to the ninth. Kipling had assigned it to the seventh century: and it is easy to sympathise with him, for there is much about the writing which has an ancient manner, the hooks or knobs of the letters being very delicately formed. We give a facsimile of almost the only place where L alters the Greek text<sup>1</sup>, a passage of great textual importance (Luke xxiii. 34).

It will be observed that L is the scribe of the Ammonian sections on the margin, and was driven to insert this passage, because it was contained in the codex from which he was transcribing the numbered sections.

Now the reason which Scrivener gives for altering Kipling's date for L is that he has superscribed an important note by J to which we shall presently return. This note which we give in facsimile<sup>2</sup> shows that L has retraced certain letters in *τη κυριακη των προφουτησματος* and thus made the new heading

*αναγνωσμα περη το κυριακη,*

where the posteriority of L and his barbarism must be conceded.

We shall show, later on, a similar case where another note of J, not deciphered by Scrivener, has the Ammonian section written over it by L. There is no doubt, then, as to the priority of J to L.

But we may go one point further with regard to the date of L.

On fol. 128 b there is again an erased note, of which Scrivener says 'Duae lineae erasae, nec lectu faciles.' A careful scrutiny of the erased letters will, I think, show that what stood there formerly was a *τίτλος* of which we can still decipher<sup>3</sup>

[στ]ι σκληρος εστιν ο λογος (cf. Joh. vi. 60).

<sup>1</sup> See Plate 2. Scrivener points out that it was L who turned the true reading *γεννησαρ* (Matt. xiv. 34) into *γεννησαρατ*; he had to mark the *τέλος* of a lection at this point, and was in search of the word *γεννησαρατ* and so made the correction naturally enough. In Luke viii. 41 where a correction is made from the Latin, Scrivener says it was due to either H or L. I shall be surprised if it is the latter.

<sup>2</sup> See Plate i. 4.

<sup>3</sup> See Plate i. 3. As suggested in the first instance by my friend Mr Phillips of King's College, Cambridge.

These short titles or summaries are assigned in the Gospels of John and Luke to the annotator  $M_2$ : now it will be observed that over this note there is the word *ανναγνωσμα* marked by L, and it follows that L is later than  $M_2$ . Probably L erased both this note and the one previously alluded to when he made the entry of the lessons in question. The alphabetical order of the annotators must therefore be corrected and L must be placed lower down; and in accordance with Mr Kenyon's suggestion we will provisionally place him in the tenth century, and this involves the carrying of  $M_2$  back to the ninth, or at least to an earlier date than L. These corrections as to the dates assigned to the annotating hands being premised, we ask in the next place whether anything can be further determined with regard to the nationality of the scribes.

Scrivener has observed that the scribe E was a Latin, though he hardly ventures a correction on the Latin side of the MS.; for in correcting in Acts v. 27 the expression *και επηρωτησεν αυτους ο ιερεις λεγων*, he writes over the words *ο ιερεις* the letters *αρχι*, and by the use of the Latin *κ*, without provocation, betrays his native tongue. (Observe, we say 'without provocation,' for, if he had been engaged in transcription of a bilingual text, he would have been under constant provocation to make mistakes on both sides of the transcription; e.g. if a word or name has to be written in two parallel columns, its writing or spelling in one column and alphabet is likely to affect its spelling in the other; but in the case of a straightforward emendation or expansion, the scribe is not likely to mix his alphabets, except by reverting to that alphabet which is his normal mode of expression. The importance of this consideration will appear again later on.)

After E the scribe whose nationality is most evident is G. His interests are entirely in the reformation of the spelling of the Latin, and his textual influence is small. From the zeal with which he corrects the misspelt *b* and *u* in Latin we may be fairly certain that his native tongue is Latin. He also appears to have some knowledge of the Latin Vulgate.

We shall next determine the native language of that important annotator who is covered by the sign L.

We should hardly expect that he had much acquaintance with Greek, when he writes it in the form,

ανναγνοσμα περι του σαββατου,

still less when he presents us with

ανναγνοσμα περι του κυριακη,

and even corrects a previous annotator from *τη κυριακη* to *το (= του) κυριακη* as on f. 150 b.

We are not, however, left in doubt. On f. 500 b and sqq., Scrivener notes as follows:

500 b. l. 8 *αρχ*: ll. 15, 16 *υπερβεννη* (: ad fin. lin. posito),

501 b. l. 21 *και λεγη*: 502 b. l. 19: *τελος*: L.

Here the broken lesson is marked by the instruction *υπερβεννη* = *υπερβαινε*, and the resumption of the lesson by the words *και λεγη*, where the Latin word *lege* has turned up in a Greek dress<sup>1</sup>.

If again we turn to Scrivener's note on f. 120 b, we find as follows:

*item* l. 23 *αρχ*, ll. 24, 25 *αννασνοσμα* tantum, etiam *τελ* 121 b. l. 15 L.

Here the beginning and ending of a certain lesson in John are marked; the peculiar spelling of the word for lection is beyond even the power of wandering of a bilingual scribe. Scrivener has misread the word *αννασνοσμα*, where a Latin *α* had crept in, by taking the *α* for a *α*, and certainly they are uncommonly alike, the slight hook on the end of the scribe's *α* being often microscopic enough.

If now we turn to f. 121 b, we find the marginal note in the form *αννασνοσμα*: but the facsimile will show that the letters *αννασ* are *in rasura*, and we can detect underneath them the previous writing *αννασ*: so that here the scribe corrected his own mistake<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> This is not quite conclusive, for *λέγω* is sometimes used in Lectionaries as if it were *αναγινώσκω*. Cf. such expressions as *λέγεται δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν λειτουργίαν κτέ.*

<sup>2</sup> Probably the same confusion between the corresponding Greek and Latin letters may have something to do with the spelling *αννοσμα* (or is it *αννογμα*?) which occurs on f. 60 b and f. 62 b.

We shall presently tabulate all these lections so as to recover the system upon which L is working: for the present let it suffice to have established conclusively his Latinity. Note, in passing, that this scribe L writes f. 65 b *ανναγνωσμα εις τον παρασκευγον*, and on f. 99 b *ανναγνωσμα εις την παρασκευην*, and on f. 279 b *ανναγνωσμα εις την παρασκευην*. Now this inserted *γ*, whatever be its phonetic explanation, is characteristic of the spelling of L, and we shall perhaps be able to show its meaning presently. In view of what has already been established concerning L, and his fundamental Latinity, we need not hesitate to say that it is a *bonâ fide* pronunciation, without deciding whether it is Celtic or Gothic, Roman or Italian. He is writing the Greek from the ear rather than the eye. It is not a transcriptional blunder.

The importance of this phonetic peculiarity lies in the fact that it turns up in one of the other annotators. The scribe whom Scrivener calls M<sub>2</sub> has the following titles to the matter contained in the text

f. 204 b. τϠ τυφολϠ τῷ λευγῖ τῷ.

Here two titles appear to have been combined, viz.: *περὶ τοῦ τυφλοῦ* and *περὶ τοῦ Λευὶ τοῦ τελάνου*.

The peculiarity is the spelling *Λευγῖ* for *Λευί*; evidently the inserted sound is a semi-consonant, probably of the nature of a *y*: the word being pronounced *Levyí*, with which we compare the *παρασκευῇ* of the scribe L. On the next leaf, f. 205 b, the same annotator gives us a title *περι Δαυγῖ ωτε ισηλθεν εν το θυσιαστιρηῷ και φαγεν τῷς αρτῷς τις προσθεσεος*.

Here *Δαυγῖ* is for *Δαυιδ*: without speculating why the scribe drops the final letter, and makes David into Davy, we can see again a semi-vocal *γ* as in the previous instance, and say of the scribe M<sub>2</sub> that he belongs to the same Greek school as L, whatever may be the cause of the peculiarity.

The remaining scribes and annotators either do not furnish any criteria for their native place or tongue, or the discrimination can only be made after much microscopic work. I think, however, that we shall be able to show that the scribe M<sub>3</sub> is also a Latin, though he writes nothing but Greek, but this we



cannot prove satisfactorily without a long investigation into the *Sortes Sanctorum* which he transcribes, if indeed we can settle the point at all. Reviewing this part of our enquiry, we may sum up as follows: the correctors and annotators in Codex Bezae are about 20 in number; and they can be very nearly divided into two chronological periods, first, that of the correctors, second that of the annotators. Of the scribes we are sure that E was a Latin, and almost certain that the same thing can be said of G. We have also shown that amongst the annotators L was a Latin, and that the Greek of M<sub>2</sub> is under the same phonetic influences as that of L. The remaining annotators require further and closer examination.

*On a curious phonetic peculiarity of the scribes L and M<sub>2</sub>.*

As we have pointed out, there are traces in certain of the annotating hands of a phonetic intrusion of the letter γ, between certain vowels, by which it seems as if an effort had been made to avoid hiatus, or else to pronounce certain Greek sounds in an abnormal manner.

The tendency, which expresses itself in such spellings as *παρασκευγή*, *Λευγί* and *Δαυγί*, appears in our MS., where the letter υ stands between two vowels, and where we should have supposed the vocalisation was sufficiently easy from the consonantal sound of the υ. The *g*-sound that is interjected can hardly be the full consonant which we usually associate with that sign, but may, more probably, be a sound nearer to that of the semi-vocalic *y*<sup>1</sup>.

The question is whether we can deduce anything chronological or local from the occurrence of these peculiar spellings. Are they Celtic, or Gothic, or Roman, or Italian?

The first conjecture with regard to this intrusive sound was that the *g* in question belonged to the Moeso-Gothic alphabet,

<sup>1</sup> In which case it is just the opposite tendency to what we actually find in the written text of D, where a hard intervocalic *g* tends to disappear, as in *λελων* for *λεγιων* etc. In the annotators we might speak of such a sound as 'beginning to appear'; but in either case we should suspect that the transitional sound is *y* rather than *g*.

which has two *g*-sounds, denoted by the Latin *G* and the Greek *Γ*, of which one is a spirant. This suggestion was, I believe, first made by Hickes in his *Thesaurus*, to explain the peculiar spelling of *πιστεύω* (*pisteugo*) in certain transliterated creeds. Wetstein followed Hickes, in claiming the spelling referred to (and the parallel phenomena in our annotators) as evidence of Frankish hands. And Scrivener, working upon Wetstein, but substituting Celtic for Frankish, elaborated the argument in the following note:

p. xxvii. The insertion of the guttural *γ* here [i.e. in *δανγ*] and in *λεγγιτον* Fol. 204 b after *υ*, of *υ* before *γ* in *παρὰνγμα* (*πράγμα*) Foll. 301 b, 302 a, and of *γ* even by *L* in *παρὰσκευγ*—Foll. 95 b, 99 b, 279 b, points to a Western and Celtic origin of all this marginal writing. See Wetst. N.T. Proleg. p. 31, who cites *pisteugo* from a Creed in the Bodleian in Latin letters, and *ekporeugomenon* from Mabillon *de re diplomatica* lib. v. p. 366 (1681). Mabillon also gives (p. 367) *pisteugo* from Thuan. Col. No. 537 of the tenth century, and Wetstein compares *ἐνανγαγησαν* 1 Tim. i. 19 from Cod. Alexandrinus.

This note will cause the student no little perplexity, especially if he is unfamiliar with Scrivener's method of composition.

He will not suspect that Wetstein is transcribing Hickes, with errors of his own in the transcription, and that Scrivener is transcribing Wetstein, including the errors, and adding some further confusions of his own.

Wetstein was citing Hickes' preface to a creed which, by a misunderstanding of Hickes' use of *nostro*, he said was in the Bodleian library, as follows:

"In nostro symbolo *πιστεύω* scribitur *pisteugo* quemadmodum et in specimine Franco-gallici codicis, qui olim fuit Dionysiani prope Parisios, quod exhibet D. Jo. Mabillon lib. v *de re diplomatica* p. 366. Sic quoque in nostro symbolo *ἐκπορεύόμενον* scribitur *ekporeugomenon*."

Hickes had said it was a MS. Lat. Bibl. Publicae Cantabr. Francica manu exaratum, and we have verified the correctness of his statement by finding the MS. (after a fruitless search in Oxford), in the MS. Gg. v. 35 of the University Library at Cambridge. Hickes had further written *πορευόμενον* and *poreugomenon* for what Wetstein gives more correctly.

In the next place, notice that Scrivener's reference from Wetstein with regard to *ekporeugomenon* is in confusion. Wetstein said that the transcribed word with the peculiar spelling was from the same Bodleian (= Cambridge) creed, but he added further, following Hickes, that the spelling *pisteugo* would also be found in a facsimile of Mabillon, from a MS. formerly belonging to St Denys (the reference being given to Mabillon, *de re diplomatica* lib. v. p. 366). Scrivener, finding in Mabillon that the MS. had passed from the Abbey of St Denys into the collection of Colbert and de Thou, makes a new reference to Thuan. Col. No. 537, as though it were a different MS. from what he had already cited. Avoiding these pitfalls, we find ourselves, then, referred to a couple of transliterated creeds, in which the same spellings occur, and which are almost certainly connected by some genealogical link. Moreover, as will appear from the references, they are Nicene creeds, as is seen from the word describing the procession of the Holy Spirit, but Nicene adapted for the use of a single person, instead of collective recitation or confession (*πιστεύω* for *πιστεύομεν*). That is they are baptismal creeds, to be recited by Greek-speaking peoples in Western Europe, or surviving from the time when the baptismal services were bilingual.

We naturally want to know whether the existence of such transliterated formulae implies Frankish or Celtic spellings; and we can hardly settle the point by saying that the MSS. referred to appear to be French MSS. of the tenth century, without enquiring further whether their peculiar spellings may not occur elsewhere. And when we make the examination for the spelling of the transliterated creed, we are surprised to find how widely diffused it is, how characteristic it is of the Western baptismal service, and that it is (in spite of the prevalence of the Nicene form, which is a further case of the unexpected that always happens) a peculiarity of the Roman ritual, as it used to be conducted by the Pope himself.

The bilingual character of the baptismal confessions is attested by the Roman rituals *passim*: and these rituals, by their unconscious or half-conscious survivals, are the conclusive proof that the early Roman Church knew nothing of infant baptism,

but that they baptized catechumens in two languages, Greek and Latin, with a priority for the Greek candidates over the Latin, and apparently the men and women separately, with a priority for males over females. When the double confessions in Greek and Latin which were proper to bilingual churches were becoming obsolete, they were perpetuated by making the men stand for the Greek candidates and the women for the Latin. And further when the lowering of the age for baptism had rendered the recitation of the creed, the paternoster &c. impossible on the part of the candidates, so that there could no longer be an intelligent *traditio symboli* to the *competentes*, or a subsequent *redditio* by them, the fiction of the *traditio* and *redditio* was kept up through the means of inferior clergy, who held the infants in their arms and repeated the symbol and the paternoster for them; and it is curious how carefully they maintained the bilingual feature of the primitive confessions and repeated in Greek the transliterated creeds which they could, apparently, no longer even read in the original script.

Accordingly in the Gelasian Sacramentary we are instructed that when the candidates make their *redditio symboli* before the Pope on Easter Eve, the baptismal questions are conserved in Greek (ad reddentes dicit Dominus Papa post *pisteugis*), where the transliterated word and its spelling should be noticed; it is the question of the Pope, Dost thou believe? to which the candidates reply with

pisteugo is ena theon etc.

And where the Roman order is followed, but the Pope is not officiating, we learn that the same bilingual feature characterises the ritual; for in the *Rituale sive Ordo Romanus* contained in Cod. Ambros. Z. 52 (sup.) (eleventh century) the proceeding is as follows:

Accipiens acolutus unum ex ipsis infantibus masculum et tenens in sinistro brachio, ponit manum super caput ejus dexteram. Et interrogat eum presbyter graece: Dicit ya [*lege* Pya=*ποία*] glossa omologesin ton kirion ymon jesun christon. Respondit acolutus Ellenestin. Iterum dicit presbyter, anangilon tin pistin auton tonos [i.e. *πῶς*] *pisteugisin*. Et dicit acolutus symbolum graece, decantando his verbis, Pysteuigon ysena theon patera...kezo intu melontos eo nos amin etc. (i.e. *πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα θεὸν πατέρα...καὶ ζῶν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος· ἀμήν*).

Here again the spelling of the transliterated words should be noted and the fact that the Nicene creed, as used in the Roman baptismal services, was pronounced in this way. And it may be almost taken for granted that all the churches which use the creeds and the paternoster in the peculiar transliterations to which we refer are directly dependent upon an early Roman ritual. If we wish to collect and classify such forms, we should have to examine Swiss, German, and French MSS., and the result of our enquiry would be, so far as concerns the peculiar spelling of ecclesiastical Greek words like πιστεύω with an inserted γ, that no conclusion of a geographical nature could be drawn from the occurrence of the form (for it turns up everywhere)<sup>1</sup>, unless we choose to call them Roman. They are certainly not Celtic as against Frankish, nor Moeso-Gothic as against Italian. So that the parallels brought forward from Hickes and Mabillon by Wetstein and Scrivener do not help us to finally determine the nationality of the scribes L and M<sub>2</sub> in the Codex Bezae. They may be suspected to be Roman, but even of this there is no final proof. For we do not know whether the transliterations represent Latin pronunciation or Greek dialect and neither of these is necessarily limited to Rome. And we shall have to go further afield and search for the same phenomenon elsewhere than in the baptismal formulae, before we can hope to settle the nationality of the scribes in question<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Poitiers, St Gall, Düsseldorf, Vienna etc.

<sup>2</sup> Caspari, *Tauf-symbol* i. p. 238, has the following note on the inserted *g* which we have been discussing, and which he found in a St Gall MS. (Cod. Sangall. 328) and elsewhere. “*ev* vor einem Vokal (*ω*, *ο*) bald durch *euu* (spricht *evv*) bald durch *eug* (*pisteugo*, *ekporeugomenon*). Der G-laut tritt zwischen jenen Diphthong und diesen Vokal und verhindert, sie von einander scheidend, den kakophonischen Hiatus *euo*. Dasselbe *g* finden wir auch sonst mehrfach nach *eu* und vor *ω* und *ο*. So in der von Binterim in seiner Schrift *De probationibus theologicis epistulae catholicae* B. 2 “*Epistola Catholica Secunda*” aus einem Codex der königlichen Bibliothek zu Düsseldorf, der den ‘*Ordo Romanus Gregorianus sed non purus*’ enthalten und in Anfang des zehnten Jahrhunderts geschrieben sein soll, herausgegeben in einer mit lateinischen Buchstaben geschriebenen griechischen Uebersetzung des apostolischen Symbols (*Pisteugo*), sowie in einem mit lateinischen Buchstaben geschriebenen griechischen Nicäno-Constantinopolitanum in einer früher der ‘*Ecclesia Essendis*’ angehörigen Handschrift derselben Bibliothek (*Pysteugo*, *ekporeugomenon*).” We suspect that Caspari’s alternative form *pisteuuo* is merely a false transcription of *pisteugo*, for we shall find it associated with *ekporeugomenon*; and that all the evidence of these baptismal creeds is really one way.



Now if we could find further material and new instances of the inserted *g*, we might be able to settle the question whether it was a Latin transliteration that was responsible for the spelling, or whether it was a case of Greek dialect, faithfully imitated by those who were trying to transliterate the creed. There is a Greek MS. extant from which Lipsius has published the text of the *Acta Petri* which is marked by the same peculiarity. Here we find such cases as *δραπετεύγομεν*, *πορευγομένη*, *πιστεύοντας*, *βουλεύγειν*, *βασιλεύγειν*, *στρατεύγη*, *στρατευγόμεθα*. And here the phenomenon is so pronounced, that we are carried over a much wider area of speech than in the baptismal confessions; in fact, we are outside of ecclesiastical language, and in literature properly so called. And so we must interrogate the MS. and find out, if possible, when and where the peculiar irrational spirant was in vogue. And the interesting thing is that the MS. comes from Patmos, where it was probably written, that the phonetic peculiarities appear to be due to dictation and that they represent therefore genuine Greek dialect of the beginning of the ninth century. We thus arrive at the conclusion that the Codex Bezae is under the influence of annotators who speak Modern Greek and write it as they speak it. It is clear that we cannot describe these annotators as Roman, merely because we find that parallel phenomena to the irrational spirant which they exhibit are to be detected in baptismal orders which can be traced back to Rome; for the very same linguistic phenomena begin to appear elsewhere at the very time to which our annotators are referred. And so we must make an exhaustive survey of the forms in question as they occur in written and spoken Greek and see if we can determine more accurately when and where they arose.

Meanwhile let it be observed that the theory that such forms are Celtic, Frankish or Latin has disappeared; they are Greek, and we shall abundantly confirm that point by a closer examination.

Such an examination has, indeed, been made for us by the leading lights in modern philology and Modern Greek grammar whose attention had been drawn to the problem. For instance if we turn to Foy, *Lautsystem der griechischen Vulgärsprache*,

we shall find the phonetic peculiarities recognised, and we shall see suggestions of a dispute which has arisen amongst philologists as to whether the  $\gamma$  in  $\piιστε\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\omega$  and similar forms is due to an original spirant ( $j$ ) in the language or whether it is a later development, the former view being naturally the tempting one to the native Greeks, who have an exaggerated idea of the extent to which they are conservative of primitive speech<sup>1</sup>. However, here is the general statement made by Foy with regard to the interpolated  $\gamma$  that has turned up in our investigations.

Foy, p. 64. "Vor  $a$ ,  $o$ ,  $u$  ist  $\gamma$  eingeschoben, z. B. in

$\mu\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\alpha$  ( $\mu\acute{\iota}\gamma\alpha$ ), daneben  $\mu\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\iota\alpha$  ( $\mu\acute{\iota}\gamma\iota\alpha$ )  $\mu\upsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$ .  
 $\alpha\beta\gamma\acute{o}$  ( $\alpha\nu\gamma\acute{o}$ ) oder trapez.  $\acute{\omega}\beta\gamma\acute{o}$  ( $\acute{\omega}\nu\gamma\acute{o}$ ) =  $\acute{\omega}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ...

Namentlich findet sich ein solches  $\gamma$  vor den Verbalendungen, wenn ein Vocal oder wenn ein  $v$  vorhergeht, z. B.,

$\kappa\lambda\alpha\acute{\iota}\gamma\omega$  ( $\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$ )  $\kappa\lambda\alpha\acute{\iota}\omega$   
 $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\gamma\omega$  ( $\kappa^2\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$ )  $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\omega$   
 $\phi\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}\gamma\omega$  ( $\phi\tau\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$ )  $\phi\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}\omega$

dialektisch ferner :

$\pi\omicron\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega$  ( $\pi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega$ )  $\pi\omega\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$   
 $\tau\eta\rho\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega$  ( $\tau\acute{\iota}\rho\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega$ )  $\tau\eta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$

auch z. B.,

$\epsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\alpha\gamma\alpha$  ( $\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\tau\alpha\gamma\alpha$ )  $\eta\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\omega\nu$   
 $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\omega$  ( $\nu\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\nu\gamma\omega$ )  $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omega$   
 $\kappa\lambda\alpha\delta\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\omega$  ( $\kappa\lambda\alpha\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\gamma\omega$ )  $\kappa\lambda\alpha\delta\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omega$   
 $\theta\lambda\acute{\iota}\beta\gamma\omega$  ( $\theta\lambda\acute{\iota}\nu\gamma\omega$ )  $\theta\lambda\acute{\iota}\beta\omega$   
 $\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\beta\gamma\omega$  ( $\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\nu\gamma\omega$ )  $\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\beta\omega$  z. B. in Kretischem.

Dass hier nat\urlich nicht an einen erhaltenen uralten Jodlaut zu denken ist, wie Maurophrydes will, ist schon deswegen schlechthin unglaublich, weil uns bis ins Mittelalter hinein kein  $j$  noch viel weniger  $\gamma$  in solchen Formen, wie die obigen sind, begegnet<sup>2</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> Foy is very severe in his preface 'gegen jene antiquarische Manie, welche in jedem vulgären Consonant-Zusatz ein uraltes Digamma oder Jod, in jedem vulgären ■ einen uralten A-laut und in manchen vulgär-entstellten Formen sogar gräco-italische Urgebilde erblicken möchte.'

<sup>2</sup> The reader may compare the following statement on the same point from Curtius, *Grundzüge*, p. 612.

Uebergang des Jod in andre Consonanten.

$j$  als  $\gamma$ .

Im Munde der heutigen Griechen hat  $\gamma$  vielfach (vgl. Deffner, *Stud.* iv. 241)

The best investigation of the whole matter is to be found in the papers of Krumbacher, who has devoted special care to the collection of all the cases of the phenomena referred to, and has rightly seen that it is idle to speculate about remote philological origins for the inserted  $\gamma$  until we have made sure of the facts and observed the order of evolution of the sounds. Krumbacher's great paper on the subject is entitled *Ein irrationaler Spirant im Griechischen* and appeared in *Sitzungsberichte d. philol. hist. Classe der Akademie zu München* for 1886<sup>1</sup>.

The first thing, as we have said, was to collect the facts from Greek literature and actual Greek speech.

Omitting certain sporadic traces which have been affirmed of the existence of the spirant in Pamphylian and Cypriote, and setting on one side the doubtful form  $\pi\omicron\tau\iota\kappa\lambda\alpha\iota\gamma\omega$  of the Heracleian tablets, whose exact meaning is not clear, we have a few traces in Egyptian papyri: e.g.  $\kappa\lambda\alpha\iota\gamma\omega$  (*Not. et Extr.* 18. 2 f. 323, 160 B.C.),  $\Sigma\alpha\rho\alpha\pi\iota\gamma\eta\omega$  (*ibid.* p. 306, 156 B.C.),  $\epsilon\kappa\phi\omicron\rho\eta\gamma\alpha = \epsilon\kappa\phi\omicron\rho\iota\alpha$  (*Wiener Stud.* 4. 196 etc.). Following these the next great case is the Patmos MS., to which we have referred above, of the ninth century. The next to this is a series of MSS. of the *Interpretamenta* of Ps. Dositheus, which contains Latin transliterations of Greek words, for the use of learners of the Greek language. These MSS. and the archetype from which they are derived give us Greek as it was meant to be pronounced by the learners at a time which coincides almost exactly with that of the Bezan annotators.

die Aussprache eines Spiranten. Hieher gehört namentlich  $\mu\upsilon\iota\gamma\alpha = \mu\upsilon\iota\alpha$ , wo sich  $\gamma$  aus dem  $i$  des Diphthongs entwickelt, so wie mehrere Fälle, in welchen Mullach (140) und vor ihm Giese (295) das  $\gamma$  weniger wahrscheinlich aus  $f$  erklärten:  $\kappa\alpha\upsilon\gamma\omega$  (gespr.  $k\acute{a}vjo$ ),  $\kappa\lambda\alpha\iota\gamma\omega$  (gespr.  $kl\acute{a}jo$ ),  $\alpha\upsilon\gamma\acute{o}\nu$  (gespr.  $avjo$ ) Ei, das wir bei No. 597 aus  $\bar{a}vjan$  entstehen sahen. Das neugriechische  $\gamma$  mit dem Lautwerth eines Spiranten ist, genau genommen, als erhaltenes, nicht als verwandeltes  $j$  zu betrachten. Im deutschen Sprachgebiet hat sich  $g$  zuweilen aus  $j$  entwickelt (Grimm, Gr. 187, 220), so entspricht das  $g$  des ahd. Plurals *eig-ir* und des engl. *egg* ebenfalls diesem Spiranten.

The statement should be corrected and completed by what follows from Krumbacher.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iii. p. 359 sqq.

From them we obtain a series of equivalences represented as follows :

anagoreugo, etc.	(= ἀναγορεύω),
apolaugo, etc.	(= ἀπολαύω),
agneugo	(= ἀγνεύω),
geugi	(= γεύη),
episceugazo	(= ἐπισκευάζω),
triambeugo	(= θριαμβεύω),
thireugis	(= θηρεύεις),
iceteugo	(= ἱκετεύω),

and a host of others, including sceuge=σκέυη which may be compared with the Bezan παρασκευή.

Krumbacher further points out the baptismal cases to which we have already referred, as existing in the Codex Frisingensis (= cod. Monac. Lat. 6425) written early in the eleventh century.

From the twelfth century on the irrational spirant appears in prose and poetry written in the popular Greek language. An enormous list of cases is made out from Modern Greek. The next step was to test the modern language and see whether the intrusive element was uniformly distributed everywhere. This was done by letters of enquiry to Greek schoolmasters, officials and scholars throughout the whole of the Levant.

Roughly speaking we find the γ in question to be geographically distributed as follows :

Mainland	after vowels (κλαίγω, ἀκούγω).
Sporades (with Cyprus)	after spirants (δουλεύγω, κόβγω).
Cyclades	after both.

This would give παρασκευγή in the islands.

The form παρασκευγή (which is one of our Bezan forms) occurs with slight variations in Andros, Tinos, Syra, Naxos, Paros, Siphnos, Lesbos, Chios, Ikaria, Patmos, Leros, Kalymnos, Karpathos, Rhodes, and Cyprus.

These forms are not to be explained by digamma, nor by making later forms into earlier (as by assuming an early form κόβγω for κόπτω), nor by arguments drawn only from analogy.

They arise, like such modernisms as

οἱ γὰνθρωποι

from prefixes to a following syllable, and not from evolutions of a previous vowel.

The sum of the whole matter is, according to Krumbacher,

“(1) Infolge des lautphysiologischen Strebens nach Vermeidung des Hiatus, der sich im Griechischen in zahlreichen Wörtern eingestellt hatte, bildete sich im Innern der Wörter...ein dem zweiten der aufeinander stossenden Vokale vorgeschlagener spirantischer Laut, den man in der Schrift durch  $\gamma$  wiedergab und den wir deshalb  $\gamma$  irrationale nennen. Im Laufe der Zeit erschien derselbe auch im Anfang vokalisches anlautender Wörter. In den Verbis auf  $-av\omega$ ,  $-ev\omega$  und in den übrigen Wörtern mit  $ev$ +Vokal hielt sich der irrationale Laut auch nach Konstantisierung des  $v$ . Das griechische Sprachgebiet teilt sich bezüglich dieses Lautes je nach der Lautkombination in bestimmten Gruppen: in die festländische (Vokal +  $\gamma$ ), in die Kykladengruppe (Vokal +  $\gamma$  und Spirant +  $\gamma$ ) und in die Sporadengruppe (Spirant +  $\gamma$ ). Erst nachdem dieser Laut sich festgesetzt hatte, riss jene Gleichgiltigkeit gegen den Hiatus ein, welcher sogar echtes  $\gamma$  vielfach beseitigt.

(2) Nachdem in  $-av$  und  $-ev$  das  $v$  in den Spiranten übergegangen war, drang das irrat.  $\gamma$  in viel späterer Zeit (etwas 10—13 Jahrh.), und nur in den Bezirken, in welchen es in den Verbis auf  $-av\omega$  und  $-ev\omega$  hörbar war, also in der Kykladen- und Sporadengruppe durch Analogie in die durch eine frühere Association von Verbis auf  $-\pi\tau\omega$  stark vermehrte Gruppe der Verba auf  $-\beta\omega$  ein: man sagte wegen der gleichen Aoriste auf  $-\psi\alpha$  nach  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\gamma\omega$   $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\omega$  nun auch  $\acute{\rho}\acute{\alpha}\beta\gamma\omega$ ,  $\kappa\acute{\lambda}\acute{\epsilon}\beta\gamma\omega$ . Während die in Nr. 1 erwähnte Lautentwicklung eine rein lautmechanische ist, liegt hier eine Wirkung der Analogie vor; daher bemerken wir in der ersten Reihe ( $\kappa\lambda\alpha\acute{\iota}\gamma\omega$   $\pi\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\gamma\omega$ ) innerhalb derselben mundartlichen Bezirke völlige Regelmässigkeit, in der zweiten ( $\acute{\rho}\acute{\alpha}\beta\gamma\omega$ ,  $\kappa\acute{\lambda}\acute{\epsilon}\beta\gamma\omega$ ) treffen wir vielfaches Schwanken und unerklärbare Ausnahmen.”

The great advantage of Krumbacher's statement of the case over those who preceded him, lies in the mass of facts on which he bases his inductions. For our purpose, engaged as we are in finding an explanation for a small group of rare forms *παρασκευή*, *Λευγί* and *Δαυγί*[ $\delta$ ], it is a great advantage to have the places tabulated where people used the form *παρασκευή*, which being the name of a day of the week, can be found in all mouths and can have its pronunciation tested everywhere.

It will be interesting to examine whether any traces of this form can be found in those parts of Italy which were formerly bilingual.

The investigations of recent years have brought to light an extraordinary number of proofs of the survival of Greek words and forms amongst the villages of S. Italy, where they are still extant in the songs, prayers and proverbs of the people. From these we may gather some idea of the dialects of Greek involved in the various streams of colonization which went to make up and maintain the Hellenic contingent in the life of Southern Italy.

Suppose we were to test these linguistic survivals in order to see whether they involved such forms as we have been discussing previously, where *παρασκευή* was written *παρασκευγή*, and where a similar phonetic change appeared in *πιστεύω* and *ἐκπορευόμενον*. Here is a love-song in the dialect of Soletto, in which a fond lover affirms that the beauty of his *innamorata* increases with every day of the week. In that case he must have something to say about Friday (*παρασκευή*). The transcribed song runs as follows :

Oria tu fani 's tin addin imèra  
 Pleon oria simberi, pippara mai ;  
 Oria tin ciuriaci ce tin deftera,  
 Ce ja ti tridi pleon oria pai ;  
 Ce i tetradi panta is mia manera  
 To pefti rodo pu fiurei tom mai ;  
 Oria to samba ce i parassoghi,  
 Ce pleon oria mu pai tin ciuriaci.

In Modern Italian this is given by Morosi as follows :

Bella mi apparisti l' altro giorno,  
 Più bella oggi, più che mai ;  
 Bella la domenica e il lunedì,  
 E per il martedì più bella vai ;  
 E il mercoledì sempre allo stesso modo,  
 E il giovedì (sei) rosa che fiorisci il maggio,  
 Bella (sei) il sabato e il venerdì,  
 E più bello mi vai la domenica.

If we try to restore the song into a Greek script, we shall find *inter alia* that the form for Friday will be a clear derivation from *παρασκευγή*. Morosi gives another form (or is it meant for the same?) of the word, also from Soletto, and writes *pras-*



*sagù*, and cites *prassaghì* from Sternatia and Castrignano. The inserted  $\gamma$  is clearly in evidence.

Equally striking is the proof of the existence of the related group of forms which belong to verbs in *-ευω*, which we stumbled upon in the *πιστεύγω* and *ἐκπορεύγω* of the baptismal creeds.

For example, Morosi, in his *Dialecti dei Greci della terra d' Otranto* (p. 116) writes as follows:

"Lo stesso  $\gamma$  che vedemmo nel cap. 1° § 3, cioè ancora un digamma rinforzato da un gamma<sup>1</sup>, ma interno, ne si presenta in *aghèra* etc.; e per conseguenza altresì in *dulèguo pistèguo prassagù* di Soletto, *dulègo, pistègo, prassaghì* di Sternatia e Castrignano, da anteriori *δουλεύγω, πιστεύγω, παρασκευή*, che trovano il perfetto riscontro in *ἀκούγω, νεύγω, καύγω* della Grecia."

As an illustration of these forms, here is a specimen from the patois of a modern Calabrian<sup>2</sup>, in which he expresses his faith on a model that is certainly not pure Greek.

Egó pistègguo ta mistéria ti Santissimo Trinità Patre, Io, ce Spiritu Santo.

Egó pistègguo 's to pedi tu Theu, pu encarnesti 's tin  $\gamma$ ilia ti Patruna ja ópera ce virtù tu Spiritu Santu: ejenníthi ce epatepse ce apéthane 's to stauro ja 'má: errisuscitepse ejai 's to cielo etc.

This specimen of the dialect of Bova will be found to involve Greek (Modern) and Italian in about equal proportions. The form *pistègguo* shows the *g* not only prefixed to the *u*, but actually doubled, and the form becomes so well established that other similar forms are made by analogy from Italian roots. The following opening verse of a hymn from the same locality will furnish an illustration.

O Júro pu en éhi jerusia,  
Niftaniméra panda to lodégguo;  
En éna manaho, somata tria,  
Ecíno crazzo ce ecino pistègguo, etc.

<sup>1</sup> As we have seen, it has nothing to do with digamma; the phenomenon being far too widely diffused for that explanation.

<sup>2</sup> For these specimens see Pellegrini, *Il dialetto greco-calabro di Bova* in *Rivista di Filologia* ii and iii, or in the published volume with the same title, p. 85.

which Pellegrini gives in the following equivalent Italian :

Il Signore che non ha vecchiaja,  
Notte e giorno sempre lo lodo :  
È uno solo, tre persone,  
Quello invoco e in quello credo.

Here is one more verse of a hymn on the Omnipotence of God from the neighbourhood of Soletto.

Pistéguo ti addo en ehi toso potente  
Sa tto Seó pu stei 's to paradiso ;  
Po' game toso mea firmamento,  
C' égame toso mea cosmon impiso etc.

which may be done into Italian as follows :

Credo che altri non ci sia così potente  
Come il Dio che sta nel paradiso ;  
Che fece un così grande firmamento,  
E fece un sì gran mondo sospeso.

Here the student of Modern Greek will recognise the familiar *κάρνω* (*έκαμε*) for *facio* (which we shall presently find in the Bezan margins); and the phonetic weakening of *μέγα* into *μέα* must be observed along with the opposite tendency of *πιστεύγω*. We have shown, then, that the forms which we discussed in the Codex Bezae were Modern Greek dialectical variations; they belong to an actual speech, and not to literature. And those who use them are either Greeks or Greco-Latin bilinguals.

The question will suggest itself whether such forms are to be looked for in communities more to the North and West than Calabria; would they, for instance, occur in the speech and script of Greeks at Ravenna, at Lyons, Poitiers or Paris? It would scarcely be possible to answer such a question definitely at this stage. We must, however, recognise that when Greeks migrated they took their language with them, and when they taught it to others, as in the Munich *Interpretamenta*, they taught it commonly as they spoke it. If so, the dialectical variations may appear unexpectedly in all sorts of places.

*On the lection system of the annotator L.*

In a rapid survey of the annotations made upon the margins of Codex Bezae, I hazarded the suggestion<sup>1</sup> that the system to which these lections belonged would be found out to be, not the ordinary Byzantine lectionary, but some closely allied and related system current in the Gallican Church: and that this was the cause of certain divergences from the traditional Byzantine systems and of the use of certain peculiar terms to describe the Sundays of the calendar, such as *κυριακή τῶν προφωτισμάτων* for Palm Sunday, where, as it seemed to me, we should naturally have expected *κυριακή τῶν βατῶν*.

It has, however, been shown by Mr Brightman in the *Journal of Theological Studies*<sup>2</sup> that the system of lections is undoubtedly the Byzantine, and that the variations in the lections are not such as may not be incident to any system which undergoes frequent transcription; moreover Mr Brightman has pointed out the use of the term *προφώτισμα*<sup>3</sup> for the pre-baptismal services in the East, and we have thus got rid of the necessity of supposing that Palm Sunday and Prophotism Sunday were two names given originally in different districts, presumably in the East and in the West.

A careful extraction and transcription of the lessons given by the scribe L would have at once shown, and that conclusively, that the Byzantine system was the one involved: I can only regret that I did not make such a transcription, as it has a value of its own apart from the question of the history of the Codex Bezae and its annotators and may throw some light, ultimately, upon the historic evolution of the Greek lectionary. The fact that L has one or two broken lessons exactly on the line of the Byzantine lectionary would of itself be conclusive

<sup>1</sup> *Study of Codex Bezae*, pp. 12—15.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i. p. 450.

<sup>3</sup> Note the important reference to Ducange, *Glossar. med. et inf. graec.* s.v. *φώτισμα*, and especially the reference to a sermon *de paschate et ss. eucharistia*, ascribed to S. Euthymius of Constantinople, which speaks of Palm Sunday as the occasion *τηνικαῦτα ποιούμεν τὰ προφωτίσματα*.

as to the connexion between the systems, if all the rest of the lections marked had perished or become illegible<sup>1</sup>.

However, here is the system in full, for convenience of reference, so far as the annotator L has transmitted it to us.

## ST MATTHEW.

<i>Description of lesson.</i>	<i>Contents.</i>	<i>Byzantine parallel.</i>
αρχ	ii. 1—	? Dec. 25
αναγνῶσμα [περι του] σαββα- του <sup>2</sup>	iv. 18—23	2nd Sunday after Pente- cost
περι του σαββατου	v. 14—19	?
αναγνῶσμα περι του σαβ[ατου]	vi. 1—13	Sabbath της τυροφαγου
αναγνῶσμα περι του κυριακη	x. 1—10	?
αναγνῶσμα περι το σαβατο	xiv. 22—34	9th Sunday after Pente- cost
μεταμορφος αναγνῶσμα	xvii. 1—9	Transfiguration (Aug. 6)
αναγνῶσμα περι του σαββατου	xvii. 14—23	10th Sunday after Pente- cost
αναγνῶσμα περι το κυριακη	xvii. 14—23 vel xviii. 1	10th Sunday after Pente- cost
αννοσμα (?) περι το σαβατο	xviii. 23—35	11th Sunday after Pente- cost
αναγνῶσμα περι το κυριακη	xix. 1—12	11th Sabbath after Pentecost [xix. 3—12]
αννοσμα (?) περι του σαββατου	xix. 16—26	12th Sunday after Pente- cost
αναγνῶσμα	xx. 20—28	?
αναγνῶσμα περι το κυριακη	xxi. 6—27	?

<sup>1</sup> Such a broken lesson, for example, as the one for Good Friday, Matt. xxvii. 1—38, Luke xxiii. 39—43, Matt. xxvii. 39—54, where the break in Matt. is marked by ὡδε στήκη; or the one alluded to above from Acts xx. 16—18, 28—36, where the break is marked by ὑπερβεννη and the resumption by και λεγη. The break here is exactly as in the printed Apostolos.

<sup>2</sup> Scr. αναγνῶσμα... alia nequaquam legenda ascripsit M (lege L). Probably an erasure of an error by the original scribe who found that Saturday was wrong.

## ST MATTHEW.

<i>Description of lesson.</i>	<i>Contents.</i>	<i>Byzantine parallel.</i>
ανναγνουςμα περι του σαββατου	xxi. 33—42	13th Sunday after Pentecost
[αν]ναγνουςμα περι του [κυ]ριακη <sup>1</sup>	xxii. 2—14	14th Sunday after Pentecost
ανναγνουςμα περι του κυριακη <sup>2</sup>	xxii. 15—33	13th Sabbath after Pentecost has the lesson xxii. 15—22
ανναγνουςμα περι του σαββατου	xxii. 33—46	15th Sunday after Pentecost [xxii. 34—46]
[α]νναγνουςμα [π]ερι του [κ]υριακη	xxiii. 1—12	14th Sabbath after Pentecost
ανναγνουςμα περι του κυριακη	xxv. 13—46	Sunday της αποκριω
end of a lesson marked	xxvi. —29	?
ανναγνουςμα εις την μεγαλην πεμτην (sic)	xxvi. 29, 30	Holy Thursday lesson in Byzantine use is xxvi. 1—20
end of a lesson marked	xxvii. —2	
ανναγνουςμα εις τον παρασκευον [note ωδε στηκη] <sup>3</sup> ανναγνουςμα εις την παρασκευην	xxvii. 1—38 + Luke xxiii. 39—43 + Matt. xxvii. 39—54	Good Friday τη αγια παρασκευη εις την λειτουργιαν exactly
ανναγνουςμα	xxviii. 1—20	τω αγιω και μεγαλω σαββατω εσπερας

## ST JOHN.

ανναγνουςμα	iv. 5—25	5th Sunday after Easter [iv. 5—42]
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<sup>1</sup> Not quite clear: is it not κυρ ιδ' or some corruption of it?

<sup>2</sup> Scrivener suggests that this is the lesson for the 13th Sabbath *plus* the lesson for the sixth day of the 10th week.

<sup>3</sup> And under Luke the entry for the continued lection ανναγνουςμα εις την παρασκευην.

## ST JOHN.

<i>Description of lesson.</i>	<i>Contents.</i>	<i>Byzantine parallel.</i>
[π]ερι αναπαν[σ]αμενους <sup>1</sup>	v. 19—24	4th day of the 5th week after Easter (?)
ανναγνωσμα	v. 24—30	5th day of the 2nd week after Easter (?)
ανναγνωσμα	v. 30—vi. 2	6th day of the 2nd week after Easter (?)
ανναγνωσμα	vi. 14—27	Sabbath of the 2nd week after Easter
ανναγνωσμα	vi. 22—33	3rd day of the 3rd week after Easter [vi. 27—33]
ανναγνωσμα	vi. 35—40	6th day of the 3rd week after Easter [vi. 35—39]
ανναγνωσμα	vi. 39—44	5th day of the 3rd week after Easter [vi. 40—44]
ανναγνωσμα	vi. 48—54	4th day of the 3rd week after Easter
ανναγνωσμα	vi. 56—63	2nd day of the 4th week after Easter [vi. 56—69]
ανναγνωσμα	vii. 1—13	3rd day of the 4th week after Easter
ανναγνωσμα	viii. 20—30	6th day of the 4th week after Easter [viii. 21—30]
αρχη	ix. 1—38 (?)	5th Sunday after Easter
αρχη—τελος	x. 7—16	??
ανναγνωσμα	x. 17—	6th day of the 5th week after Easter
εις την ενκηνηουν <sup>2</sup>	x. 22—28	

<sup>1</sup> Not quite clear whether this is due to L. Note that the common Byzantine expression is *eis κοιμηθεντας*.

<sup>2</sup> Note the Latinism in *encaenium*.



## ST JOHN.

<i>Description of lesson.</i>	<i>Contents.</i>	<i>Byzantine parallel.</i>
τέλος	x. 27?—38	Sabbath of the 5th week after Easter
ανναγνῶσμα περι του σαββατου	xi. 1—45	6th Sabbath of the Fast
ανναγνῶσμα περι το κυριακη <sup>1</sup>	xii. 1—18	Palm Sunday
ανναγνῶσμα	xii. 24—36	?
ανναγνῶσμα	xii. 28—47	?
ανναγνῶσμα εις την μεγαλην πεμπτη[ν]	xiii. 3—17	Holy Thursday
ανναγνῶσμα	xiv. 1—12	6th day of the 6th week after Easter [xiv. 1—11]
ανναγνῶσμα	xv. 17—xvi. 2	Sabbath of the 3rd week after Easter [xv. 17—xvi. 1]
ανναγνῶσμα	xvii. 1—13	6th Sunday after Easter
τον απολυσην <sup>2</sup>	xx. 19—?	?

## ST LUKE.

ανναγνῶσμα περι του κυριακη	? iv. 31—36	1st Sabbath in New Year
ανναγνῶσμα περι του σαββατου	iv. 32—42	?
ανναγνῶσμα περι του κυριακη	v. 1—11	1st Sunday in New Year
ανναγνῶσμα περι του κυριακη	v. 17—26	2nd Sabbath in New Year
ανναγνῶσμα περι του σαββατου	vi. 31—36	2nd Sunday in New Year
ανναγνῶσμα περι του σαββατου	vii. 1—10	5th Sabbath in New Year
ανναγνῶσμα περι του κυριακη	vii. 11—16	3rd Sunday in New Year
ανναγνῶσμα περι του σαββατου	vii. 17—28	5th day of the 3rd week in New Year [vii. 17—30]

<sup>1</sup> This is the lesson that is written over one marked by J for the Sunday of the Propheetism, of which more elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> The word has been supposed to be the same as απολυσιμος, but no satisfactory explanation has been given of it.

## ST LUKE.

<i>Description of lesson.</i>	<i>Contents.</i>	<i>Byzantine parallel.</i>
ανναγνωσμα περι του κυριακη	viii. 4—15	4th Sunday in New Year [viii. 5—15]
ανναγνωσμα περι του σαββατου	viii. 16—21	6th Sabbath in New Year
ανναγνωσμα περι το κυριακη	viii. 41—56	7th Sunday in New Year
ανναγνωσμα περι του σαββατου	ix. 1—6	7th Sabbath in New Year
ανναγνωσμα περι του κυριακη	xii. 16—22	9th Sunday in New Year
ανναγνωσμα περι του σαββατου	xii. 32—40	11th Sabbath in New Year
ανναγνωσμα περι του σαββατου	xiv. 1—11	13th Sabbath in New Year
ανναγνωσμα περι του κυριακη	xiv. 16—35 <sup>1</sup>	11th Sunday in New Year [xiv. 16—24]
ανναγνωσμα περι του σαββατου	xv. 2—10	Sabbath προ της αποκριω [xv. 1—10]
ανναγνωσμα περι του σαββατου	xv. 11—32	Sunday προ της αποκριω
ανναγνωσμα περι του σαββατου	xvii. 3—10	15th Sunday in New Year
ανναγνωσμα περι του κυριακη	xvii. 11—19	12th Sunday in New Year [xvii. 12—19]
ανναγνωσμα περι του σαββατου	xviii. 18—27	13th Sunday in New Year
ανναγνωσμα εις την παρασκευην	xxiii. 39—43	Good Friday, see under Matthew

## ST MARK.

ανναγνωσμα περι του σαββατου	i. 35—45	2nd Sabbath of the Fast [i. 35—44]
ανναγνωσμα περι του κυριακη	ii. 1—12	2nd Sunday of the Fast
ανναγνωσμα περι του σαββατου	ii. 14—22	3rd Sabbath of the Fast [ii. 14—17]

<sup>1</sup> Scrivener suggests that this includes the lesson for the third day of the 9th week: (xiv. 24—35).

## ST MARK.

<i>Description of lesson.</i>	<i>Contents.</i>	<i>Byzantine parallel.</i>
ανναγνωση περι του σαββατου	vii. 31—37	4th Sabbath of the Fast
ανναγνωση περι του σαββατου	viii. 27—31	5th Sabbath of the Fast
ανναγνωση περι του κυριακη	viii. 34—ix. 1	3rd Sunday of the Fast
ανναγνωση περι του κυριακη	x. 32—45	5th Sunday of the Fast

Finally we have in the Acts against ii. 46 the two following notes:

[αν]αγνωση [πε]ρι του σα[ββα]τω  
της [δι]ακονι[σι]μου

where the margin has been encroaching on the text. This important note intimates the beginning of the lection of the Sabbath της διακονησιμου, which characteristic Byzantine term is used to distinguish the fluctuating part of the calendar from the fixed part.

Scriver, however, notes that the proper Byzantine lesson for this day is Acts iii. 1—16.

And on f. 435 b at the top of the page

περι του κυριακη

and the αρχη marked against Acts vi. 1, a lesson which appears to be the lesson for the third Sunday, or, as we should say, for the second after Easter (= Acts vi. 1—7).

A review of this system (which we may call the L-system) is conclusive that it is the Byzantine system; in spite of certain confusions<sup>1</sup> between Saturdays and Sundays, the scribe has a system of Saturday-Sunday lections running through the Synoptic Gospels, and a series of unattached lections marked simply ανναγνωση running through John.

Over and above this system (the double system of Saturday and Sunday lessons, beginning with the fixed new year for Luke, and with the moveable ecclesiastical year for Matt. and Mark), the L-system contained

- a lesson for Transfiguration,
- a lesson for Holy Thursday,

<sup>1</sup> Especially in Matthew, where Sabbaths and Sundays are frequently displaced.



Reviewing the work of L summarily, we see a Latin scribe (with hardly enough Greek to deserve the title of bilingual) transcribing from a Greek Gospel a system of lectionary notes<sup>1</sup>. Of these there is little that diverges from the Byzantine system, and there is no special festival unless it be Dedication Day and the Transfiguration. There is not a single saint nor any mention of the Blessed Virgin.

We pass on to show that the system of lections which the scribe L has given us is not the same as that of the scribe J, whom he corrects and alters.

*Of the annotator J and his lection-system.*

It had been remarked by Scrivener that, on fol. 150 b, the scribe L had superscribed a note of an earlier scribe J, intimating that the passage of the Gospel of John which followed was a lesson

τη κυριακη των προφητουσματος.

Out of this L made *ανναγνωσμα περη το κυριακη*, omitting the reference to the Prophotism as if he did not understand it. Thus he corrected the Lection for Palm Sunday into an ordinary Sunday lection, as the annexed facsimile will show more clearly<sup>2</sup>.

Moreover in this particular lection L appears to have corrected J for giving a verse too much to the lesson, and withdraws the τέλος of the lesson to v. 19. It might be argued that this minute correction was the very best proof that L's system was the same as J's, as Mr Brightman maintains, but

<sup>1</sup> His Greek is not literary, but colloquial. His use of the form *ὑπερβεννη*, for example, is exactly paralleled in the Greek dialects of S. Italy, and probably elsewhere. Thus in the district of Otranto we have *ἀναβεννω*, and in the dialect of Bova we have *καταβεννω*. But we must not draw hasty conclusions, for in Acts iii. 1 we have the spelling *αναβεννον* in Cod. A and *ανεβεννον* in Cod. C.

<sup>2</sup> Plate i. 4. Where it should also be noted that J had for his note of commencement of the lesson a sign which meant originally *ἀρχή*, the  $\chi$  and  $\rho$  being made into a monogram, but which appears in J's hands as a monogram of  $\chi$  and  $\rho$  with  $\alpha$  and  $\omega$  on the wings of the cross that stands for  $\chi$ .

the fallacy of the inference will be clear from the following considerations.

The lection in question being the proper lesson for Palm Sunday, as will be generally admitted though L does not actually write *τῶν βατῶν* for *τῶν προφωτισμάτων*, then the preceding Sabbath lesson will be the lesson for the Saturday which precedes Palm Sunday. Accordingly we have in the L-system a lesson marked (John xi. 1—45), which Scrivener identifies as the Byzantine lesson *σαββατω 5' των νηστειων*<sup>1</sup>. But that this is not J's lesson for the day in question will be seen by turning to fol. 67 b, where against Matt. xx. 29 there is a note which Scrivener did not decipher, and which we give in facsimile. It runs

ⲡ τω σαββα  
τω [των προ]-  
φωτισματων

with the *αρχη* sign<sup>2</sup> and the hand of the annotator whom we call J. It is, from the language, a corresponding lesson to the one in John, and belongs with it. But that it is not the lesson of the L-system is clear from the erasure (by L?) of the whole note, and from the substitution by L of another lection for the day. We are thus carried into an earlier system. And the decipherment of the note may be of importance in the history of the Codex.

That the system is earlier may be seen from the fact that it keeps the baptism of the *Competentes* more in mind, which was a much more careful and long-drawn-out order in the days of adult baptism than it becomes when infant-baptism is the rule. The lesson for the Saturday before Palm Sunday is one of the stages in the initiation of the Catechumens; it is not merely marked as Sabbath of the Prophotisms or Pre-illuminations, but the J-lesson is intended to impress the fact of the illumination: it is the lesson which relates the opening of the eyes of the blind men at Jericho, and is, therefore, altogether appropriate to the time of baptismal initiation<sup>3</sup>. But it can hardly,

<sup>1</sup> From which lesson it is commonly known as the Sabbath of Lazarus.

<sup>2</sup> Plate ii. 1. This time without the added α and ω.

<sup>3</sup> As the miracle immediately precedes the triumphal entry in Matt., it may merely be introduced to lead up to Palm Sunday.



as we have said, belong to a later stage of evolution of the baptismal ritual, for L replaces it by a lesson from John with Palm-Sunday lesson in sequence and apparently erases altogether the reference to the Illumination of the Catechumens<sup>1</sup>. But the use of such a lesson is, further, an argument against its being recognised as a Western ritual, for the characteristic miracle which illustrates baptism in the Western rituals is the opening of the ears, which gives a special feature (known as *Effeta*) to the initiations. We have thus to ask the question, In what outlying region of the West or in what part of the East, did they use the miracle of Matt. xx. 29—34, and the lesson which reports it, in the initiation of Catechumens? To which we must add a further question: Since this lesson is not to be referred to mere erudition, transcribing notes for their own sake, nor to the revival of Greek letters, nor to any form of the desire to be more Greek than one really had a traditional right to be, in what city or district did they keep up the custom of instructing the Catechumens in Greek, not merely, as at Rome, through transliterations of the Greek responses, but by the actual reading of Greek Gospels<sup>2</sup>.

It is in the answer to such questions that the solution of the perplexity as to the origin and history of the Codex Bezae is to be sought. Let us, however, finish our treatment of the scribe J by collecting any further traces of his hand in the Codex.

So far as I can see there are only two other cases in which the hand of J is suspected.

At the beginning of Luke, Scrivener makes the following annotations:

185 b, l. 10. marg ꝥ (Marc 24 : Luc i. 39—56) alienâ manu (forsan J): in eâdem.

188 b, l. 9. τς medio lineae (Jun 24 : Luc i. 80).

191 b, l. 23. αῤ ad το per + refert M [Jan 1 : ii. 40].

ibid. l. 25. fin + τέλος M [Feb 2 : ii. 40] τέλος a J ad init. lineae eraso.

<sup>1</sup> This is also clear from the fact that verses which follow the displaced lesson (or which formed a part of it) turn up in the Morning Service for Palm Sunday, thus: τοῦ ὁρθρου· Μαθ. ὅτε ἡγγισεν... ἡύλισθη ἐκεῖ, i.e. Matt. xxi. 1—18.

<sup>2</sup> If, indeed, we are right in assuming that the Gospels were read in Latin in the Roman ritual for baptism.

Here I suppose 'Marc 24' to stand for 'March 24.' The sign which precedes it is the ἀρχή of the lection; and it is quite possible that the τέλος is the one noted on f. 188 b. Scrivener suggests that these two entries are due to J, and proposes to identify them with conventional lessons for the Annunciation and the Birthday of St John the Baptist; but the proof is incomplete on all the points proposed. It is quite doubtful whether J has been rightly invoked in this place.

It is further suggested that a lesson was marked by J on f. 191 b and erased by the scribe M, at least so far as its τέλος is concerned. An examination of the facsimile will show the ἀρχή belonging to this τέλος on f. 190 b after περὶ Συμεών. But a reference to Scrivener p. 451 will show that he identified this sign of the beginning of a lection as due to the hand which he calls M<sub>1</sub>. So that here also it is very doubtful whether the hand J has been rightly identified.

On the whole we are inclined to believe that the only cases where this hand is found are the two [baptismal] lections for the Saturday before Palm Sunday and for Palm Sunday.

### *Of the annotator I and his lection-system.*

There is one lectionary annotator left, who is supposed to be anterior to J and L, and whom Scrivener denotes by I. His hand is traced in two places only: the first is

f. 130 b, ll. 13. 14. εἰς τὴν μεσοπεντηκοστῇ

where the lesson suggested is John vii. 14[—30?]. This is the proper lesson for the fourth day of the fourth week after Easter, which is appropriately described as μεσοπεντηκοστή, as being just midway between Easter and Pentecost.

The second passage is

f. 197 b. εἰς τὸ νεον αὐτος

where the lesson suggested is Luke iv. 1— .

The beginning of the New Year is a regular feature of the Byzantine Menology, where the 1st of Sept. is so named<sup>1</sup>, and where the fixed part of the calendar begins. Of these two festivals attributed to I, both appear to be characteristically Byzantine. The Western Church did not create the term *μεσοπεντηκοστή* nor did it commence its ecclesiastical calendar in Sept. If then the scribe I has been rightly dated, the Codex is under Byzantine influence from its first annotator.

*Of the annotators of lections whom Scrivener denotes  
by the sign M.*

The discrimination of the remaining annotators is much more difficult. We have a group of five, whom Scrivener denotes by the signs M, M<sub>1</sub>, M<sub>2</sub>, M<sub>3</sub> and M<sub>4</sub>, but with a caution that the matter may have been subdivided more than was necessary, and that some of the hands may be identical.

The hands employed from this group in marking lections are M, M<sub>2</sub> and M<sub>4</sub>; of whom M and M<sub>2</sub> are found in the Gospels, and M<sub>4</sub> once in the end of Mark, and the rest of the time in the Acts. We will first tabulate the occurrences of M.

ST MATTHEW.

<i>Description of lesson.</i>	<i>Contents.</i>	<i>Byzantine parallel.</i>
$\overline{\chi\upsilon}$ γενισ i.e. χριστου γεννησις	ii. 1—	Christmas
[αρχη] τον μαγον το τελος οτι ναζορος κλιθισ[ε]τε	ii. 13—23	December 26
τις εορτις τον θεοφανιων Ϡ i.e. της εορτης των θεοφανειων αρχη	iii. 1—	Epiphany

<sup>1</sup> Some reckonings begin the New Year with the Equinox.

## ST LUKE.

<i>Description of lesson.</i>	<i>Contents.</i>	<i>Byzantine parallel.</i>
Perhaps a lesson marked by Ϙ (= αρχη) which Scr. attributes to J	i. 39—80 (?)	
Perhaps a lesson marked by αρχ	ii. 40—?	? Circumcision
Perhaps a lesson marked by Ϙ (= αρχη) and by τελος	ii. 25—40	
A lesson marked by τελος	—xii. 31	Scrivener suggests the 2nd day of the 8th week

The places where M<sub>2</sub> is suspected are as follows:

+ αναγονοις τις θεωτακου το αγουστο ιε	Luke x. 38—42	Assumption of the Vir- gin (Aug. 15)
i.e. αναγνωσις της θεοτοκου του αγουστου ιε'		
A lesson marked by τελος +	Luke xvi?—31	Scr. suggests the 5th Sunday, for which the lesson is Luke xvi. 19—31

The lessons referred to M<sub>4</sub> are as follows:

Ϙ της αναλινψημου	Mark xvi. 9[—	Ascension Day
i.e. αρχη της αναλημψιμου	20]	εις ορθρον

and the following places in the Acts:

Ϙ τι πεντικοστι	Acts ii. 1—	Whit Sunday
i.e. αρχη τη πεντηκοστη		
A lesson marked with τελος at Acts ii. 38	Acts ii. —38	?
αρχ and τ <sup>ε</sup>	Acts iii. 1—8	5th day of the 1st week
[σα]β <sup>α</sup> αρχ and τ <sup>ε</sup>	Acts iii. 11—16	Sabbath of the 1st week
[τ]η τριτ αρχ and τελ	Acts vii. 30—35	
[αντι]πασχα αρχ	Acts viii. 26— 39	5th day of the 3rd week after Easter
τ <sup>ε</sup>	Acts x. ?—16	2nd day of the 4th week after Easter

<i>Description of lesson.</i>	<i>Contents.</i>	<i>Byzantine parallel.</i>
[ημερα] κζ <sup>1</sup>	Acts x. 21—?	3rd day of the 4th week after Easter
ημ <sup>ε</sup> κθ αρχ and τ <sup>ε</sup>	xi. 19—30	5th Sunday after Easter
λβ <sup>2</sup> αρχ and τ <sup>ε</sup>	xii. 25—xiii. 12	3rd day of the 5th week after Easter
[ημ] <sup>ε</sup> λγ <sup>3</sup> αρχ and τ <sup>ε</sup>	xiii. 13—24	4th day of the 5th week
κε Ϙ <sup>4</sup> and τ <sup>ε</sup>	xiv. 6—18	4th day of the 4th week after Easter
λδ αρχ and τ <sup>ε</sup>	xiv. 20—27	5th day of the 5th week after Easter
αρχ ημ <sup>ε</sup> λς and τ <sup>ε</sup>	xvi. 16—34	6th Sunday

In the lessons contained in this group, the most noteworthy point is the steady adherence to the Byzantine lectionary, especially in the case of M<sub>4</sub>, where the Acts of the Apostles is read from Easter to Pentecost (but note that the actual days from Easter are counted, and not the weeks and days as in most lectionaries and calendars).

The lesson attributed to M<sub>2</sub> for the Assumption of the Virgin should be noticed (Aug. 15th). It is the only festival in which the Virgin is specially named.

### *On the Annotators N and O.*

The remaining annotators need not detain us long, especially since the previous examination has abundantly verified that all the scribes referred to (unless an exception be taken for J) are drawing upon the Byzantine Synaxarion. The annotator N stands for a number of pencil marks, consisting merely of αρχαι and τελη for lessons; and I do not see that anything is gained by tabulating them. They agree for the most part with lessons in the Greek calendar.

<sup>1</sup> Scr. suggests that this is an error for κδ'.

<sup>2</sup> Scr. suggests that this should be λα'.

<sup>3</sup> Scr. suggests that this should be λβ'.

<sup>4</sup> i.e. the 25th day, αρχη.

But with O (whom Scrivener divides into O and O<sub>2</sub>) the case is different. He introduces important festivals, which may have a bearing upon the problem of the history of the Codex. His hand can be traced as follows<sup>1</sup>:

<i>Description of lesson.</i>	<i>Contents.</i>	<i>Byzantine parallel.</i>
B Ap and τε	Acts i. 12—26	2nd day of the first week after Easter
αρχ and τε <sup>2</sup>	Acts ii. 1—11	Whitsunday
αρχ and τε	Acts ii. 14—21	3rd day of the first week after Easter
[τ]ου αγιου [γ]εωργιου	Acts xii. 1—11	Festival of St George (Ap. 23) <sup>3</sup>
Ρ <sup>4</sup> του αγιου διονυσιου· παγιτου	Acts xvii. 19—34	Festival of St Dionysius the Areopagite (Oct. 3) [Acts xvii. 16—34]

The first three of these five lessons (which we refer to O without more minute division) show that the Byzantine lessons from Easter to Pentecost are being followed. The last two introduce important festivals of the Church or Monastery where the Codex was preserved. We shall return to the discussion of them by-and-by.

### *Of the headlines to the Gospels in Codex Bezae.*

Amongst the apparatus of the Gospels in Greek, a prominent feature is the *τίτλοι* or summaries of the chapters, which are usually tabulated at the beginning of each Gospel, and written seriatim along the upper margins of the text.

In the Codex Bezae there is also a series of titles which diverges a good deal from the canonical type both by excess and defect but cannot be wholly independent. They are assigned by Scrivener to two scribes M<sub>1</sub> and M<sub>2</sub>, of whom M<sub>1</sub>

<sup>1</sup> Plate ii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> The entry having already been made at the head of the page by M<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>3</sup> Plate ii. 3.

<sup>4</sup> i.e. αρχη, see Plate ii. 4.



is credited with the τίτλοι in Matt., M<sub>2</sub> (for the most part) with those in John and Luke. We have shown above that M<sub>2</sub> is older than L, and must therefore be assigned to the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century. This conclusion may perhaps carry back to the same date the scribe to whom we shall presently refer, who has written the *Sortes Sanctorum* in Mark. For Scrivener suspects that he is the same person as M<sub>2</sub>, and even if that should be a mistake in judgment, they cannot be far apart in time. The following is a list of the titles, which we give in full, as we have deciphered a good deal more than is found in Scrivener. The numbers on the margin are the conventional numbers of the τίτλοι, and the foliation of the MS. is also given, and occasional abbreviations resolved.

MATTHEW (referred to M<sub>1</sub>).

	28 b	[περι] του θερισμού και τον αποστολον
	33 b	.. κ γενεας ωμνα εστιν πεδυσ
	34 b	εκεινω [καιρω] επ[ορευθη] δια του [σ]ποριμον εν σααβασιν
KA	35 b	[περι του] ξιραν εχοντος χιραν
	37 b	βασιλιας του θυ
	38 b	τον γραματεον και φαρισεων
	39 b	παραβολις ε [ ? εκ ] το πλυδ
	42 b	[αλλην] παραβολιν παρεθικεν αυτος λεγον η βασιλϊα τον ωρανον ανθρωποι σπιροντ +
	43 b	[αλ]λιν παρβολιν περι κον [=κοκκον] σιναπεος
	45 b	[περι ηρω]δου του βασιλεως
K5	47 b	[περι των] πε[ν]τε αρτον
KZ	48 b	[περι ιω] περιπατουντος ις την θα[λασσαν]
	49 b	[περι των] φαρισεων
AA	51 b	[περι των] ζ' αρτον
AB	52 b	[περι] τον φαρισεων
AG	53 b	...τις τινα με λεγοσιν ανθρωποι
AD	55 b	[περι της με]ταμο[ρ]φοσεος
AZ	57 b	των μαθητε... λεγουν μαθητ.. ara τις μιζον
AH	59 b	[περι] τον ρ' προβατον
	60 b	...πο βασιλευς ηθελισεν συναριν λογον μετα τον δολον αυτον
	61 b	περι ανδρ[ος] και γυνεκος
	63 b	[περι των νη]πιον τον προσενεκθεντο τω κ[υριω]
	64 b	[περι του α]νπελονος παραβολι

ΜΓ	66 b	[περι των] ιβ αποστολον και τον υων ζεβεδεον
ΜΔ	67 b	[περι των] β τυφλον
	68 b	[περι των βαι]ον
	69 b	?
ΜΗ	70 b	[περ]ι ερωτισαντον <sup>1</sup> εν πνα εξουση ταυτα πνις
ΜΘ	71 b	[περι του α]νπελονος τον β τεκνον
ΝΑ	73 b	καλεσαντες τους κεκλικotas
	75 b	κ πιραζον αυτον και λεγον πνα εντολι

JOHN (referred to M<sub>2</sub>).

E	114 b	[περι] της σαμαρητιδος
	116 b	[π]ερι του θερισμού
ς	117 b	[περ]ι του βασιλησκου
Z	118 b	[πε]ρι του παραλυτικου
H	122 b	[πε]ρι τον πεντε αρτον
Θ	124 b	περι του περιπατουντος εν τι θαλασι
	128 b	οτ]ι σκληρος εστιν ο λογος....
	129 b	περι της ισκηνοπυνης
I	138 b	περι του τυφλου
ΙΑ	145 b	[πε]ρι του λαζαρου

LUKE (referred to M<sub>2</sub>).

	184 b	¶ περι τις παρθενου
	190 b	¶ συμεων και as (sic) τις προφειτιδο
	191 b	περι του κυ τις πεδhas ιω [γ]εναμενος <sup>2</sup>
	192 b	¶ ιωαννου τō βαπτιστου ετι πεντε και δεκατω
	194 b	¶ του ηροδō τōν ιωννου
	197 b	¶ ις πιασθεις
ΙΑ	200 b	[περι] τις αγρας τον ιχθυον
ΙΓ	202 b	¶ του παραλυτικου
ΙΔ	204 b	[¶] του τυφολου τō λευγι τō
	205 b	¶ δαυγι ωτε ισηλθεν εν το θυσιαστιρηον και φαγεν τōς αρτōς τις προθεσεος
	206 b	¶ τον μαθητον αυτου
	236 b	+ περι πōλδσιου
ΝΘ	252 b	¶ πλουσου και λαζαρου +
ΞΓ	257 b	¶ επεροτισεος αρχοντος
ΞΕ		και του ζαχεου

<sup>1</sup> This, I suppose, is equivalent to περι ερωτησαντων.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps something like περι του ρηματος προς ιωαννην γενομενου, but cf. f. 192 b.

These tabulated lists of *τίτλοι* are critically of importance in the following points: (1) by their frequent coincidence with the conventional Byzantine *τίτλοι*, they show that there has been a transcription made from some other copy of the Gospels into the pages of the Codex Bezae<sup>1</sup>: (2) such a transcription was not necessitated by any liturgical demands, and must therefore have arisen out of simple literary interest; the conclusion is important, as bearing upon the point whether the addition of the marginal lections necessarily implies liturgical use of Greek Gospels: (3) the language of the annotator shows a trace of the vowel prefixed to *s impurum* in *ισκηνοποιια* (*σκηνοπηγια*); this cannot of itself be taken as a Gallicism as traces of the same linguistic peculiarity are to be found elsewhere (as in Semitic languages and in Greek papyri): but here there is no need to suspect Semitic influence, and it is a question between a possible Greek dialect and a Gallicism. In French lips, the vowel would have been perfectly natural. (4) The very same hand (apparently) that gives us the form *ισκηνοποιια* is responsible for the semivocalic *g* in *δανγι* and *λευγι*. So that the evidence of the *τίτλοι* must be added to the evidence furnished by the scribe L for the existence of this peculiarity, not only in official documents, such as baptismal creeds, concerning which we have spoken above, but also in the dialect of the people amongst whom the Codex was preserved.

All of these points must be borne in mind before we come to the final arguments as to the home of the Codex.

There remains one annotator of the M group, not necessarily a different or a new personality, though his hand is peculiarly novel in the series of notes to which we have to draw attention; we refer to the annotator who inscribed the *Sortes Sanctorum* in St Mark, to whom Scrivener gives the mark of recognition M<sub>1</sub> or M<sub>3</sub>. In order to estimate his evidence rightly, we transcribe the series of *sortes*, and prefix some notes for the better appreciation of the subject.

<sup>1</sup> At the same time note that on f. 117 b he writes *περι του βασιλησκου* which is the spelling of Cod. Bezae: if he has copied from elsewhere it looks as if he had harmonised with his own text.

*Of Sortes Sanctorum in general.*

It was pointed out in my *Study of Codex Bezae*<sup>1</sup> that there was a series of annotations in the MS. written at the foot of the pages containing the Gospel of Mark, which was a part of a system of *Sortes Sanctorum* or sentences for divination; and that these sentences, which were written in Greek, were closely connected with a similar system in Latin, which was found on the margins of a famous Old Latin Codex of the Gospels, the S. Germain MS. g<sup>1</sup>, in the Gospel of John. And we drew the inference from the close relationship between the two series of annotations, both in matter and in point of time, that there was also some local propinquity between the two MSS. involved, and that they were both Gallican MSS. in the tenth century, whatever might have been their prior geographical habitat. The suspicion which has been cast on the lawfulness of this inference, by M. Berger and others, makes it proper to re-examine the question of the system of *Sortes* with a view to the verification or rejection of the geographical conclusion. But first let us get some further idea as to the diffusion, antiquity, &c. of the method of divination in question.

The oracles to be consulted may be (a) an actual collection of possible answers to enquiries, from which a special oracle is selected by some more or less random method; (b) they may be the whole of a sacred book (Bible, Virgil, Koran<sup>2</sup>, &c.) considered as a mine of oracles and a storehouse of possible guidance, where the book is opened by some chance method and the eye or the finger lights upon the sentence that is to determine action or predict destiny; (c) both these methods appear to be combined in the Codex Bezae and the Codex Sangermanensis where the sentences are placed in the margins

<sup>1</sup> c. ii.

<sup>2</sup> A good instance for the Koran is its use by the Vizier of Amurath I. (1389 A.D.) when battle was impending with the Servians: the first verse found was 'O Prophet, fight the unbelievers and the hypocrites': the second was 'Verily a large army is often beaten by a weaker one.'

of the Gospel, and by this means acquire the religious character which they certainly are not otherwise overburdened with.

The oldest case known to me of divination by *sortes* will be found in an inscription from Asia Minor which is given in Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, no. 1038, from Hirschfeld, *Act. Acad. Berolin. min.* 1875, p. 716.

The inscription was found at Attalia in Pamphylia and runs as follows:

- I. αςςς[γ]                      κβ                      Μοιρῶν ἐπιφανῶν.  
 Εἰς χείως, τρεῖς δ[έ] ἐξείτε, πένπτos τρεῖος πείπτων.  
 μὴ χ[ά]λα, μὴδ' εἰς χείρ[α κα]υ[χ]ῶ, μὴ σο[ί] τι γένητε.  
 δυσχερές ἐστι τ[ὸ] πρᾶγμα, περὶ οὗ [π]εύθη κέ ἄπυστον.  
 ἀλλ' ἡσύχιος μένε, λῆσα[ί] τε ὁδοῦ καὶ ἀγορᾶς.
- II. δδδδς                      κβ                      Ποσειδῶνος.  
 Τέσσαρα δ' οἱ τέσσαρες.. υ...δ ἐξείτης τ...  
 εἰς πέλαγος σπέρμα βα[λεῖν καὶ γ]ράμματα γράψ[αι]  
 ἀμφοτέρον μόχθος τε κενὸς [κ]αὶ ἄπρακτος.  
 μὴδὲ βιάζου θνητὸς ἐὼν θεῶ[ν μὴ] σέ τι βλάψῃ.
- III. δγ[γ]ςς                      κβ                      Ἀρεως θουρίου.  
 Τέσσαρα καὶ δύο τρεῖς, δύο δ' ἐξείτε· τάδε φράζ[ευ].  
 .....νίκην... [ξ]ένε· τήνδε γὰρ οὐδεὶς  
 ..... μέγα σὸν τε φυλάξαι  
 δεῖ [ἄ]χος· ἄπρακτος [ὁ μόχθ]ος, ἐπ' ἡσ[υ]χίῃ δ' ἀ[ν]άμεινον[.]
- IV. αςςςδ                      κγ                      Ἀθηνᾶς.  
 Εἰς χείως, τρεῖς δ' ἐξείτε καὶ τέσσ[αρ] ὁ π[έν]πτos.  
 Παλλάδ' Ἀθηναίην τείμα καὶ πάντα σοι ἔσ[τ]ε  
 ὅσσα θ[έ]λ[εις], καὶ σοι τὰ δεδογμένα πάντα τελεῖται  
 λύσι δ' ἐγδεσμῶν καὶ [τ]ῶ[ν] νοσέοντα δὲ σώ[σει].
- V. ςςδδγ                      κγ                      Εὐφροσύνης.  
 Σ[τ]ελλέ' ὅπου [σ]ο[ι θ]υμός· πάλιν γὰρ δόμον ἔσται  
 εὐρίν, καὶ πράξ[εις] κατὰ νοῦν πάντα τε κρατήσεις  
 Εὐφροσύνην, [ὦ]νείσθε πωλεῖν τε καὶ οὕτως.
- VI. ςςςγγ                      κδ                      Πυθίου Ἀπόλλωνος.  
 Μίμνε κ[αὶ] μὴ πράξ[ης]· Φοίβου χρησμοῖσι δὲ πεῖ[θ]ου[.]  
 ἄλλον χ[ρῆ] καὶρ[ὸν] τηρεῖν· νῦν δ' ἡσυχος ἴσθι·  
 με[κ]ρὸν ἐ[πι]σχὼν τελέσις [πά]νθ' ὅσσα με[ρ]ο[ι] μνᾶς[.]
- VII. δδδςς                      κδ                      Κρόνου τεκνοφάγου.  
 Μίμνε δόμων ἐπὶ σῶν· πάλι μὴδ' ἄλλοθι βαῖνε,  
 μή σοι θήρ [ὀλ]ο[ὸ]ς καὶ ἀλάστωρ ἐνγύθεν ἔλθῃ·  
 οὐ γὰρ ὀρῶ [σὴν π]ράξιν ἀσφαλῆν<sup>1</sup> οὐδὲ βέβειον.

<sup>1</sup> Sic.

- VIII.  $\delta\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\gamma$   $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$  Μηνὸς φωσφόρου.  
 Θά[ρ]σι, καιρὸν ἔχ[ι]ς, πράξις ὁ θέλις, καιροῦ τ' ἐ[π]ιτεύ[ξῃ]  
 τὴν ὁδὸν ὁρμηθῆνε· ἔχ[ι]ς καιρόν τιν'. ὁ μόχθος  
 ἔργ[ο]ν τ' ἐνχειρῖν ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἀγῶνα δίκ[αιον].
- IX.  $\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\alpha$   $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$  Μητρὸς θεῶν.  
 Ὡς ἄρνα[ς] κα[τ]έχουσιν λύκοι κρατεροί τε λένου[σ]ιν  
 βούς ἑλικας. πάντων τούτων καὶ σὺ κράτ[ος] ἔξ[ι]ς,  
 καὶ πάντ' ἔσ[τ]ε σ[ο]ί, ὅσα ἐπ[ι]ρώτας σύ [μ'] ὀδίτα[ς].
- X.  $\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\delta\delta$   $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$  [Ε]ρμε[ῖ]α ἐριον[υ]ί[ου].  
 Ἡ παρᾶξις καὶ [ν]ῦ[ν] ἂ[ν] τε[λ]ής...  
 λυπηρά τις ὁδὸς γάρ...  
 ἡρίσθ[αι] χα[λ]ε[π]όν...

It will be noticed that each throw of the dice is named after some divinity: each oracle is attached to a special throw of the dice; five dice are thrown, or rather, one die is thrown five times, and the die is the ancient knuckle-bone with rounded ends, the flat sides being numbered 1, 3, 6 and 4. We thus obtain for the first oracle, which is presided over by the *Μοῖραι*, the throws:

$$\alpha\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma[\gamma] = 1, 6, 6, 6, 3,$$

for which the total 22 ( $\kappa\beta'$ ) is marked<sup>1</sup>.

I do not see the special reason for giving the total of the five throws, as it does not add anything to the definition of the oracle; unless it be that the maximum of the five throws being 30, the number of days in the month, the total throw was taken to test the luck from the day of the month, e.g. from a table of lucky and unlucky days. If the number was unlucky the question would not be asked. The number of oracles on the stone is ten, which does not exhaust the system, of which it can be only a fragment. But the importance of the inscription lies in the proof furnished thereby, not only that the system of divination goes back to Greek times, but that the dice were used in the finding of the desired oracle, a point which we might otherwise have missed, but of which we shall find many traces, coming down through the middle ages. The importance of this consideration will appear in the discussion of a collection of oracles published by Pithoeus, to which we shall presently refer, where the separate oracles are marked:

CCC, CCV, CCIII, &c.

<sup>1</sup> For a similar inscription from Tefeny, see appendix.



Pithoeus did not recognize that these were the numbers of a series of dice-throws, the C being a misreading of a Greek sign for six, so that when the correction for the obscure sign is made, we have a series of oracles numbered :

6, 6, 6 ; 6, 6, 5 ; 6, 6, 4 ; &c.

to correspond with three throws of an ordinary die, or, if we prefer it, to the throws of three ordinary dice.

This establishes, in passing, the fact that Pithoeus' system, though it is composed of a series of Latin sentences, must be ultimately derived from the Greek.

But, further, we are enabled to see that certain numbers may be expected to turn up in connexion with a system of Sortes.

The number of possible throws, when three dice are thrown together, is 56 ; but if we throw a single die three times, and take account of the order in which the numbers come, the number is  $6 \times 6 \times 6$ , or 216. This is the number that we may expect to find in an elaborate system of Sortes. The series of sentences in the S. Germain Codex will be found to bear numbers running, with breaks, from 1 to CCXVI : for this, in my *Study of Codex Bezae*, I had corrected CCCXVI, as there were many cases of numbers higher than the final number, with which the series concludes. The correction should perhaps stand, but it should stand with a suspicion that a primitive system of 216 sentences has been expanded by the addition of a hundred more oracles. For it is certainly curious that we should have a system of dice-throws amounting to 216, and a system of Sortes amounting to 316. Between these there is probably some connexion, as we have intimated in what precedes. Supposing, however, we do not regard the order in which the throws come, we have a case of Sortes, 56 in number. And this is the case in the system of Pithoeus to which we shall now refer : only by an error, a scribe's post-script has been counted in with the Sortes so as to make the total number 57. But it is easy to make the necessary correction.

The series to which we now refer was first published by Pithoeus, at the end of the Codex Canonum (ed. Claude le Peletier, A.D. 1687), from a MS. formerly in the possession

of the abbey of Marmoutier. And it is extremely interesting that the same series, translated into Provençal, was found in a MS. of the thirteenth century, walled up at Cordes near Albi, and was published by Rocquain in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* for 1880<sup>1</sup>. We print, for convenience, in an appendix, the Latin of Pithoeus and the Provençal of Rocquain in opposite columns.

Somewhat similar to the foregoing is a system of divination based on throws of dice, which is found in Cod. Monacensis 14846, of the tenth or eleventh cent., published by Winnefeld at the end of his *Sortes Sangallenses* to which we shall refer presently<sup>2</sup>.

Here we have 51 sentences preserved, out of a possible 56<sup>3</sup>, and each sentence has not only its throw indicated, but a letter of the alphabet is attached to it, in the following manner:

No. 10. m. VI. V. I *est recte quod cogitas, &c.*

Here the figures 6, 5, 1 show conclusively the use of the dice, but what is the meaning of the alphabetic sign? No doubt it serves some purpose in the divination like the numerical sign which we found in the Pamphylian Sortes, and which we suspected to be connected with the day of the month, the five throws of the dice giving numbers ranging from 5 to 30, and thus covering the greater part of the lunar month. That it was customary to test one's fortune not only by asking questions, but by asking them at given hours on given days may be seen from the Oracles of Astrampsychus which were published in 1863 by Hercher in a Joachimsthal Programm. These oracles profess to be the invention of an Egyptian priest and are written in Greek. After giving directions for selecting the question and answer, the enquirer is told that the best days of the week for consulting the oracle are the Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday and Sunday, which are

<sup>1</sup> pp. 457 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> With which compare a collection of Sortes in the National Library at Madrid (L. 95) also of the tenth century, and said to have been written in Germany: see Loewe, *Sitzungsberichte der kön. Akad. Wiss. phil. hist. Classe* cxiii. (1886) pp. 234 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> The throws 6, 6, 6: 5, 5, 3: 3, 2, 1: 2, 1, 1: and 1, 1, 1 are missing or absorbed in previous or following sentences.

under the signs of the planets Mars, Jupiter, Saturn and the Sun<sup>1</sup>. On other days no enquiry should be made. Further, the proper hour for oracle is, according to the preface, the third hour on Sunday, the sixth hour on Saturday, the fifth hour on Thursday, and the third on Tuesday. But besides this a special table is given of the days of the month, considered as suitable either wholly or in part, for the oracle; and last of all there is amongst the questions which may be addressed to the oracle one which is preliminary to all the rest, viz. the question whether this is a suitable time for enquiry. Here then we see how many numerical pivots can be introduced practically into the Sortes: and it is clear that we were right in our speculation into the meaning of the number in the Pamphylian Sortes; indeed, we may go further, and say that the use of five dice was meant to furnish a number up to 30, and so to cover the days of the month (though as there are no zeroes in the throws it leaves the first four days of each month<sup>2</sup> out of account); nor shall we be likely to be far wrong in speculating that the alphabetical signs which turn up in the Munich Sortes have something to do either with the days of the month, or the week, or the hours in the day. In the case of a Greek system of Sortes, the seven days would, if denoted by letters, naturally be represented by the seven vowels,  $\alpha \epsilon \eta \iota \omicron \upsilon \omega$ ; and it is significant that in the Munich Sortes the letters attached to the different throws are in the first instance the vowels and not the consonants. This looks as if these various systems were all (or at least many) of them derived from some early Greek system of which the traces have been worn down. For this reason I think it will probably throw light upon the Sortes in the Codex Bezae, if we study the Oracles of Astrampychus a little more closely.

As arranged in the MS. these oracles consist of a series of questions numbered from 12 ( $\iota\beta'$ ) to 103 ( $\rho\gamma'$ ) inclusively: followed by 1030 answers, arranged in groups of ten, there being in all 103 groups or decads. It seems then that to each question there are ten answers. But how are the questions

<sup>1</sup> The signs of the planets only are given, and are transcribed carelessly, but apparently this is what is meant.

<sup>2</sup> And some others, when the die has only four faces.

and answers to be arranged so that we shall draw an answer that corresponds to the question? In order to accomplish this there is a third table given, consisting of two columns of figures, viz. a column in black ink from 13 ( $\iota\gamma$ ) to 115 ( $\rho\iota\epsilon$ ) inclusive, and a column in red ink, containing an irregular series of figures in correspondence with the black figures. The table is as follows:

Rubric		Rubric		Rubric	
$\iota\gamma$	$\kappa$	$\mu\eta$	$\epsilon$	$\pi\beta$	$\nu\eta$
$\iota\delta$	$\rho\alpha$	$\mu\theta$	$\mu\epsilon$	$\pi\gamma$	$\pi\epsilon$
$\iota\epsilon$	$\mu\delta$	$\nu$	$\rho$	$\pi\delta$	$\pi\zeta$
$\iota\varsigma$	$\varphi\eta$	$\nu\alpha$	$\mu\alpha$	$\pi\epsilon$	$\kappa\varsigma$
$\iota\theta$	$\iota\theta$	$\nu\beta$	$\lambda\theta$	$\pi\varsigma$	$\xi\varsigma$
$\iota\eta$	$\varphi\gamma$	$\nu\gamma$	$\iota\alpha$	$\pi\zeta$	$\xi\zeta$
$\iota\theta$	$\omicron\theta$	$\nu\delta$	$\omicron\delta$	$\pi\eta$	$\theta$
$\kappa$	$\lambda\epsilon$	$\nu\epsilon$	$\iota$	$\pi\theta$	$\alpha\beta$
$\kappa\alpha$	$\eta$	$\nu\varsigma$	$\mu\theta$	$\varphi$	$\iota\gamma$
$\kappa\beta$	$\mu\varsigma$	$\nu\zeta$	$\pi\gamma$	$\varphi\alpha$	$\pi\alpha$
$\kappa\gamma$	$\kappa\delta$	$\nu\eta$	$\varphi\delta$	$\varphi\beta$	$\iota\beta$
$\kappa\delta$	$\kappa\zeta$	$\nu\theta$	$\pi\varsigma$	$\varphi\gamma$	$\nu\zeta$
$\kappa\epsilon$	$\omicron\alpha$	$\xi$	$\xi\alpha$	$\varphi\delta$	$\kappa\theta$
$\kappa\varsigma$	$\iota\eta$	$\xi\alpha$	$\omicron\epsilon$	$\varphi\epsilon$	$\kappa\epsilon$
$\kappa\zeta$	$\iota\epsilon$	$\xi\beta$	$\nu\beta$	$\varphi\varsigma$	$\pi\theta$
$\kappa\eta$	$\lambda\zeta$	$\xi\gamma$	$\varsigma$	$\varphi\zeta$	$\alpha\zeta$
$\kappa\theta$	$\nu\varsigma$	$\xi\delta$	$\mu\beta$	$\varphi\eta$	$\nu\delta$
$\lambda$	$\rho\beta$	$\xi\epsilon$	$\omicron\eta$	$\varphi\theta$	$\xi\epsilon$
$\lambda\alpha$	$\lambda\eta$	$\xi\varsigma$	$\mu\eta$	$\rho$	$\omicron\gamma$
$\lambda\beta$	$\lambda\delta$	$\xi\zeta$	$\nu\theta$	$\rho\alpha$	$\lambda\beta$
$\lambda\gamma$	$\gamma$	$\xi\eta$	$\zeta$	$\rho\beta$	$\iota\varsigma$
$\lambda\delta$	$\xi\eta$	$\xi\theta$	$\alpha$	$\rho\gamma$	$\beta$
$\lambda\epsilon$	$\omicron\varsigma$	$\omicron$	$\varphi\epsilon$	$\rho\delta$	$\nu\alpha$
$\lambda\varsigma$	$\nu$	$\omicron\alpha$	$\varphi$	$\rho\epsilon$	$\kappa\eta$
$\lambda\zeta$	$\nu\gamma$	$\omicron\beta$	$\iota\zeta$	$\rho\varsigma$	$\lambda\varsigma$
$\lambda\eta$	$\delta$	$\omicron\gamma$	$\kappa\beta$	$\rho\zeta$	$\xi\gamma$
$\lambda\theta$	$\varphi\varsigma$	$\omicron\delta$	$\pi$	$\rho\eta$	$\pi\beta$
$\mu$	$\mu$	$\omicron\epsilon$	$\xi$	$\rho\theta$	$\pi\eta$
$\mu\alpha$	$\kappa\alpha$	$\omicron\varsigma$	$\pi\delta$	$\rho\iota$	$\varphi\alpha$
$\mu\beta$	$\kappa\gamma$	$\omicron\zeta$	$\mu\gamma$	$\rho\iota\alpha$	$\varphi\beta$
$\mu\gamma$	$\omicron$	$\omicron\eta$	$\iota\delta$	$\rho\iota\beta$	$\varphi\zeta$
$\mu\delta$	$\varphi\theta$	$\omicron\theta$	$\nu\epsilon$	$\rho\iota\gamma$	$\rho\gamma$
$\mu\epsilon$	$\xi\beta$	$\pi$	$\lambda$	$\rho\iota\delta$	$\mu\zeta$
$\mu\varsigma$	$\lambda\alpha$	$\pi\alpha$	$\xi\delta$	$\rho\iota\epsilon$	$\xi\theta$
$\mu\zeta$	$\lambda\gamma$				

The way to use the table, according to the preface to the Sortes, is to select a question, and note the number of the question. Add to this any number  $x$  selected by the questioner, not higher than 10. Having added  $x$  to the number of the question, then look in the table for the number in red that corresponds to the sum. This number will be that of one of the 103 decads, and looking under that decad the  $x$ th answer is the one required. All of which will appear very complicated until we study the method of composition of the tables. In order to understand the structure of them, let us imagine a somewhat simpler case: let us say the case of 100 answers, arranged in groups of ten under ten questions. The simplest thing in the way of an oracle would be to select a question, and then by means of a number ranging from 1 to 10, find the answer. And a little reflection will show that, if the answers are to correspond to the questions, this is all the liberty of choice we have.

We may arrange the ten questions side by side, and the ten answers vertically beneath them in the compartments of a square of which each side is ten units, as follows:

	$Q_1$	$Q_2$	$Q_3$	$Q_4$	$Q_5$	$Q_6$	$\dots$	$Q_{10}$
1	$A_11$	$A_21$						
2	$A_12$	$A_22$						
	$\vdots$							
10	$A_110$	$A_210$						

Nothing can be more simple, and in its present form it does not even need a diagram. But as it stands, there is not sufficient mystery about it to make an oracle of. Suppose now we wrap the square round a cylinder, and commence moving the answers horizontally, so that each answer in the first row moves one place to the right, each answer in the second row two places to the right, each answer in the third row three places to the right, and so on, we should then find that the answers to each question, instead of lying vertically

beneath them were lying along a series of diagonals of squares as follows:

$Q_1$	$Q_2$	$Q_3$	$Q_4$	$Q_9$	$Q_{10}$
$A_{10}1$	$A_11$	$A_21$	$A_31$		$A_91$
$A_92$	$A_{10}2$	$A_12$	$A_22$		
$A_83$	$A_93$	$A_{10}3$	$A_13$		
$A_110$					$A_{10}10$

The diagonal lines indicating the directions in which to look for the answer, and each answer being still in its own row, the series of answers to any given question is read off along a single diagonal. Suppose now we take out the groups of answers which stand in the vertical columns as displaced, we shall then have a series of ten decads of answers which we may number in any way we like, and each decad will contain an answer to each of the ten questions. The person who asks for the  $m$ th answer to the  $n$ th question will find his answer  $m$  squares to the right of where it would naturally be expected, i.e. he would find it under the  $(m+n)$ th question, i.e. in the  $(m+n)$ th of the final collected decads. So much has been done by the keeper of the oracles to make the giving of the appropriate answer more wonderful. But more remains to be done. The matter may further be complicated by moving the groups of constructed decads of answers about, provided only we keep a key for restoring them to their right places, and register the correspondence between the columns as they stand in their final displacement with their position before they were thrown into disorder. This registration is the table of numbers in red and black of the system of Astrampsychus. It is not necessary to frame any special law of displacement, provided we have the table to tell us what has become of any given group of answers in the disordered columns.

We have imagined in the course of our argument that the



series of 100 squares was folded over on itself so as to lie on a cylinder, in which case the answers in the right hand columns move successively into the blanks made on the left by moving the answers to the right.

Now there is no reason why we should limit ourselves to 10 questions; let there be any number  $r$ , greater than 10. Arrange these  $r$  questions in order, and under them vertically the 10 answers to each; then move each answer to the right, one, two, three, &c., squares as described above; and we shall have an arrangement:

$Q_1$	$Q_2$	$Q_3$	.....	$Q_r$
$A_r 1$	$A_1 1$	$A_2 1$	.....	$A_{r-1} 1$
$A_{r-1} 2$	$A_r 2$	$A_1 2$	.....	
.....				

where any question can be made to lie on a diagonal with all its answers by wrapping the diagram round a cylinder. The decads of answers are the separate columns.

Now in the system of Astrampsychnus,  $r = 92$ , for the total number of questions. In order, however, to avoid placing those columns first which have the answers brought round the figure from the right ( $A_r$  &c.), he begins his count of the questions with  $Q_{12}$ , and by consequence the questions  $Q_1$  &c. are written as  $Q_{93}$  &c.  $Q_{103}$ . What particular method was adopted of displacing the columns *inter se*, is not clear nor is it necessary to know it. It is evidently quite an artificial thing to begin counting the questions from 12 onward, and this is the reason why the other table begins with  $\nu\gamma'$  (= 13), for the 13th column is the one in which stands the first answer to the 12th question &c. It would have been simpler to write 1, 2, 3 &c. instead of 13, 14, 15 &c.

Now that this is the real method of composition of the table may be tested by an example: the 57th decad in the tables of Astrampsychnus contains the following ten answers:

οὐ λήψῃ λεγάτον, μὴ προσδόκα  
πεφαρμάκευσαι σεαντῶ βοήθει

ἀπαλλαγῆσθαι τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ μεταμεληθῆσθαι  
 λήσεται σου ὁ δρασμὸς πρὸς καιρόν  
 οὐ γενήσῃ βουλευτὴς ἄρτι· φρόντιζε  
 πρεσβεύσεις οὐ μόνος· συμφέρει γάρ  
 οὐ φυγαδευθῆσθαι· μὴ φοβοῦ· εὐθύμει  
 γενήσῃ βιοπράγος καὶ εὐχαριστήσεις  
 ἀγοράσεις ὁ ἐνθυμῇ καὶ μεταμεληθῆσθαι  
 οὐχ εὐρήσεις ἄρτι πωλῆσαι· περιμένειν.

The table tells us that this 57th column is a displacement for the 93rd; under the heading  $Q_{93}$  we ought to have the following answers:

$A_{92}$  1  
 $A_{91}$  2  
 etc.

On referring to the table of questions, we find that the questions corresponding to these answers, viz. the 92nd, 91st, 90th, &c. are as follows:

εἰ λήψομαι λεγάτον  
 εἰ πεφαρμάκευμαι  
 εἰ ἀπαλλαγῆσομαι τῆς γυναικὸς  
 εἰ λᾶθος ἔσται μου τῷ δρασμῷ  
 εἰ γενήσομαι βουλευτὴς  
 εἰ πρεσβεύσω τὰ πρὸς θεόν  
 εἰ φυγαδευθήσομαι  
 εἰ γενήσομαι βιοπράγος  
 εἰ δυνήσομαι ἀγοράσαι ὁ ἐνθυμοῦμαι  
 εἰ εὐρήσω πωλῆσαι

which correspond exactly to the decad of replies. And so in other cases.

We have now resolved the structure of these oracles and explained the artificial mystery that attaches to them.

It will be seen that where a number of answers can be given to a single question, the case is not really different from that of oracles relating to special subjects, for the subject, such as Health, Wealth, &c., can be considered as involving general questions under those heads. Thus one heading, such as *περὶ*

*σωτηρίας*, might be attached to a whole decad of oracles as its leading question.

It is interesting to pass on from these oracles, reserving their complete statement for an appendix, to the system which Winnefeld published from a palimpsest at St Gall, to which his attention had been drawn by Bücheler<sup>1</sup>. These oracles are in Latin of the sixth century, and Latin which, from its Romance forms, can be used to illustrate the Latin of the Codex Bezae. Here the answers come in blocks of twelve, instead of ten. But the idea of the arrangement of the dodecads is just the same as that of the decads in the tables of Astrampsychus. So that we could easily reconstruct from them, if the palimpsest were complete, and completely deciphered, the system of questions from which the enquirer made selection. Compare for examples these three successive dodecads which we print side by side, only raising the second and third columns by one and two oracles respectively.

IV.	V.	VI.
		1 finget tibi promittendo nam non donabit
	1 noli illi donare, qui non est obsequens tibi	2 donat quae expedit tibi ut gratiam habeas
1 procede ad publicum feliciter	2 noli ad publicum procedere ne forte paenitearis	3 non est quod verearis: procede in publicum
2 vade in expeditionem feliciter: victor venies	3 non tibi expedit in expeditionem ire, ne captus interficiaris	4 vade feliciter in expeditione, quia tua est victoria
3 habeto consortium et multum lucraris	4 habeto consortium et multum lucraris	5 non tibi expedit habere consortium quia finget tibi et de fraude cogitat
4 si negligens non fueris, accipies promissum a quo vis	5 accipe promissum; quare tristaris?	6 aliquantum promittit sed plus mentitur tibi

<sup>1</sup> They had been barely noticed by Niebuhr.

## IV.

5 durum est, ut glori-  
eris

6 quid tam cito vis  
facere testamen-  
tum, cum domino  
juvante vita habe-  
bis bona?

7 observa istum  
visum, ne forte in  
laqueo incidas

8 tardum erit, ut ob-  
tineas per libellum:  
melius est ut com-  
ponas

9 sed quid tam ver-  
bosus vel impor-  
tunus amicum?  
quem diligis in  
absenti te lacerat

10 quem vis, finget  
tibi; nam multis  
se promittit: re-  
cede inde morio

11 hunc annum fructi  
rari nascuntur et  
tempus laboriosum  
significat

12 in quo vadis, non  
constas ibi

## V.

6 in bono gloriaris  
feliciter

7 succurre tibi et  
citius fac testa-  
mentum, quia  
mors tibi super-  
est

8 vera sunt visa:  
observa ne in  
aliquo damno in-  
curras

9 si non esses avarus,  
olim obtinueras  
per libellum

10 quem suspicaris,  
minas facit et  
multum lacerat:  
cautus esto ab illo

11 non tibi consentit,  
quem vis

12 hunc annum boni  
fructi sunt et mul-  
tum gaudebis

## VI.

7 si forte b...os eris,  
ne forte captus pae-  
nitearis: si taceas,  
poteris gloriari

8 adhuc tibi vita de-  
betur: quare vis  
facere testamen-  
tum?

9 visa vera sunt et  
lucrabis

10 obtinebis, sed per  
patronum, quod  
vis per libellum

11 in absenti multum  
lacerat, de quo  
consulis

12 in multum tibi con-  
sentit et obsequens  
est

Here it is evident that the answers have been arranged as in the system of Astrampsychus, for we have the same question underlying the group of oracles:

4, 1:    5, 2:    6, 3:

so for the group

4, 2:    5, 3:    6, 4

and throughout the columnus.

The questions in fact are :

Shall I go into public life?  
Ought I to join the expedition?  
Is it wise to take a partner?  
and so on,

each question being susceptible, as we have seen, of twelve different answers.

The imperfect state of the papyrus prevents us from saying how many questions there were in the series; we can see by a little calculation that there must have been at least as many as 126, but how many more than this, it is impossible to determine. But the parallelism in the method of composition with the Oracles of Astrampsychus is very striking, and there is a frequent assonance between the Greek and Latin sentences in the two systems, so that it is very likely they are derived from a common root. As has been pointed out by Winnefeld, the Latin is vulgar Latin of the sixth century. It is interesting to observe a word which has caused much debate amongst the students of the Latin of Codex Bezae. In the twelfth group of oracles we find :

xii. 11 noli dimittere persona, de qua *soniari*s

and in the thirty-seventh and thirty-eighth we have :

xxxvii. 11 non es fugiturus : noli *soniari*,  
= xxxviii. 11

in the forty-seventh we have :

xlvi. 11 noli *soniari*, quia non est obligata domus tua.

Finally in the fifty-second group, we have :

lii. 9 de *sonio* liberaris, et deo adjuvante ad filios tuos reverteris  
salvus.

The form *sonium* occurs in Codex Bezae, Luke xxi. 34 :

et soniis saecularibus

= και περιμνας βιωτικαις

where it was hastily claimed to be a Gallicism, on account of the relation between *sonium* and *soin*. One would like

to know whether the Sortes Sangallenses could be traced to a geographical centre in France. For the rest of Winnefeld's system, we refer to the appendix.

*The Sortes Sanctorum continued.*

We come now to the system of Sortes of which the traces remain in the Codex Bezae and in the Codex Sangermanensis (g<sup>1</sup>). The connexion between the two systems, the system in the Gospel of Mark in the Codex Bezae, and the system in the margins of the Gospel of John in the S. Germain Codex, is so intimate, that we are obliged to treat them together. For the latter MS. we use a transcript made from a copy by Mr G. L. Youngman<sup>1</sup>.

Number of sentence, by count	D	Actual no. in g <sup>1</sup>	g <sup>1</sup>
(1)	αφεσ μι̃ φιλονικησι̃ς	i	cessa ei <sup>2</sup> certaueris
(2)	το γηνωμενον τελιουτε	ii	qđ fit cōplebitū (i.e. con- plebitur)
(3)	ουκ επι̃τυχανισ του παρυμα- τω̃ς <sup>3</sup>	iii	non adipsis causa (i.e. non adipisceris cau- sam <sup>4</sup> )
(4)	τελιουμενον παργαμα+	iv	perficitur causa
(5)	περι̃ ζωης <sup>5</sup>		
(6)	το υστερον επι̃τυχανισ		
(7)	+ μι̃ ωμοσησ εαν ωμοσι̃ς φανερουτε+		
(8)	τρη̃τον παραυμα εχι̃ς επι̃χη- ρι̃σε		
(9)	ου δυ̃νι̃ ψευσασθεν		

<sup>1</sup> For which my hearty thanks both to Mr Youngman and to my friend Mr H. J. White, as well as to Mr Cronin who re-examined the MS. for me in Paris.

<sup>2</sup> For *ei l. ne.*

<sup>3</sup> Nearly the Modern Gk. *πρᾶμα*.

<sup>4</sup> Note that here and throughout the Sortes, we have *causa* as the equivalent of *thing*; i.e. the French *chose* and the Italian *cosa*.

<sup>5</sup> Suspiciously like the heading of a group of Sortes, which has been turned into a Sors.



Number of sentence, by count	D	Actual no. in g <sup>1</sup>	g <sup>1</sup>
(10)	+λωγοσ ζοης καϊ φασϊσ καλϊ		
(11)	+ταπινοσον καϊ γηνετε		
(12)	+δυναμῖν μεγαλῖν προσ- δοκα+		
(13)	+λανβανῖσ τῖν χαρῖν εκ θυ	xiii	spes bona <sup>1</sup>
(14)	+απο λυπῖσ ησ χαραν	xiv	gaudium fiet <sup>2</sup>
(15)	+μετα δεκα ημερας γῖνετε	xv	est [l. post] decē dies fiet
(16)	+το ζητῖσ ευρισκετε		
(17)	+μῖ παρακουσῖσ του λογου+		
(18)	+ακουλουθησον καϊ καλον συ γινετε+	xviii	et bene
(19)	+ουκ εχῖσ αμαρτιαν ησ τω παρυμα		
(20)	+μιζον προκωπῖ και χαρα γηνεταῖ		
(21)	+δῖ σε λανβανῖν την χαριν+		
(22)	+τελουμενον παρυμα καλον	xxii	perfectum opus <sup>3</sup>
(23)	+απροσδοκητον παρυμα γηνο- μενον <sup>4</sup>		
(24)	+πιστεῖσον οτη το παργμα καλον εστιν +	xxii (l. xxiv)	credere uia (l. quia) causa bona ē [i.e. est]
(25)	+εαν ποησ τουτω το παρα- μνον + και ευξε το θεο	[xxv]	si facies istut permane
(26)	+δηαχορῖσῖσ		
(27)	+αποταξε και αποστρεψον	xxvi [l. xxvii]	accede et auerte
(28)	+δηαλυσῖσ μετα τριῖσ ημερα γῖνετε+	xxvii [l. xxviii]	absolueris post tres dies

<sup>1</sup> Here the systems are out of harmony.

<sup>2</sup> Probably *ex tristitia gaudium fiet*, which would make the two columns agree.

<sup>3</sup> Note the variation of *opus* = *πρᾶγμα* for the more usual *causa*.

<sup>4</sup> Note, as in 4, the use of the present participle as a present tense.

Number of sentence, by count	D	Actual no. in g <sup>1</sup>	g <sup>1</sup>
(29)	+μετανωσον το θω και γη- νετε <sup>1</sup> +	xxviii [l. xxix]	ne credas alienis sermoni- bus; poenitere dō et fiet
(30)	+μετανοησον τω θo ζ γη- νετε <sup>2</sup> +		
(31)	+τελουμενον εργαων καλον +	xxx	perfectum opus
(32)	+τελουμενον παρανγμα		
(33)	+απροσδωκίτον παρανγμα +	xxxi	insperata causa perficitur
		xxxii	quod uerum est dicito
(34)	+εαν ψυση ελεγχουσιν σε	xxxiii	si mentiris arguent te
(35)	deest <sup>3</sup>	xxxiv	gloria magna
(36)	deest <sup>3</sup>	xxxv	pro manifestatione
(37)	+περι δηκίς <sup>4</sup> εαν αλίθενσίς ευλυτ...	xxxvi	de iudicio quod uerum est si dixeris libera- eris <sup>5</sup>
(38)	+το ζητίς λαμβανισ τίν χαριν +	xxxviii	ad peregrinatione itineris uenies <sup>6</sup>
(39)	+το ζητίς προφθάνι σε +		
(40)	+τουτο εκ θευ δοτον εστιν <sup>7</sup> +		
(41)	+αποταξαι <sup>8</sup> +	xl	qd̄ qd̄ quesieris non in- uenies
(42)	+περη ερίσμου μῃ ερίσησ <sup>9</sup>	xli	de contentatione ne crea- ueris

<sup>1</sup> Here a line has been anticipated in the Greek.

<sup>2</sup> These two Sortes should read thus:

29	———	[xxviii]	ne credas alienis sermonibus
30	μετανοησον κτέ	[xxix]	poenitere deo et fiet

<sup>3</sup> The leaf is cut away.

<sup>4</sup> The heading of a group of Sortes? (περι δικης = de iudicio.)

<sup>5</sup> liberaberis?

<sup>6</sup> The two sides are not in accord.

<sup>7</sup> δοτον εστιν looks like a translation of *datum est*. Cf. No. xciii in the Latin series *ex dō datum est*.

<sup>8</sup> Discord again between the two sides.

<sup>9</sup> Here again it seems as if we had both in Greek and in Latin the heading of a group of Sortes.

Number of sentence, by count	D	Actual no. in g <sup>1</sup>	g <sup>1</sup>
(43)	+εαν δηκαζῖ <sup>1</sup> υπερ σου αλον πενψων +		
(44)	+περῖ αναπανσεῶς κς κερ- δουσ <sup>2</sup> +		
(45)	+το εχῖσ καμην καμε <sup>3</sup> +		
(46)	+εαν πίστευσησ χαρα συ εσθω +	xliii	si credideris gloriā tibi
(47)	+πολαστον ηθελῖσα επυσηε <sup>4</sup> ς ουκ εδυνηθησ +		
(48)	+καιροσ εστιν ἵνα γηνετε ον ζῖτῖσ <sup>5</sup> +		
(49)	+ορθῖοσ την ωδον βεβεουτε σου το πραγμα <sup>6</sup> +		
(50)	+μυστηριον μεγα γιενεταῖ <sup>7</sup> και <sup>8</sup> απεκαλυφθη +	xlvi	secretū incipit reuelare
(51)	+αιπροσδοκητον κερδοσ +	xlvi	insperata causa

<sup>1</sup> i.e. διχαζῖη.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently this is only the heading of a group of Sortes.

<sup>3</sup> Note the use of the Modern Greek κάμνω for *facio*.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps for πολλάκις τὸ ἠθέλησας ποιῆσαι.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. No. 52.

<sup>6</sup> Apparently a combination of two sentences:

ὄρθιος ἢ ὁδὸς  
βεβαιούται σου τὸ πρᾶγμα

where the first, if our dissection is right, may show an acquaintance with Hesiod

τῆς ἀρετῆς ἰδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάροιθεν ἔθηκαν  
ἀθάνατοι, μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὄρθιος οἶμος ἐπ' αὐτήν.

<sup>7</sup> We are here very near to the pronunciation of the dialect of Bova. See Pellegrini p. 170 (gh)jénome, where the dialect of Otranto has ghenome= γίνομαι.

<sup>8</sup> I. ἵνα αποκαλυφθη.

But perhaps no change is necessary, as both in Modern Greek and in the Greek dialects of S. Italy the use of *kai* with indic. instead of *va* with the subjunctive can be traced. See Morosi, p. 156, "Sovente per tal uso cangiasi il costruzione, in guisa che di due proposizioni, l' una principale e l' altra dipendente col verbo al congiuntivo retto da *na*, abbiamo per endiadyon due proposizioni principali entrambi e copulate dal cong. *ce*."

Number of sentence, by count	D	Actual no. in g <sup>1</sup>	g <sup>1</sup>
(52)	+κεροσ εστῖν ἵνα γεινετε ο ζιτισ+		
(53)	+περ πραγματος καλῶ+		
(54)	+εισ αναπαυσῖν <sup>1</sup> ερχετε ων ζιτισ+		
(55)	+απο ξενου ερχετε αλι φασισ <sup>2</sup>	lv	aliam causam quere <sup>3</sup>
(56)	μῖ ἀπηστῖσησ τουτο καλον εστιν+	lv (? lvi)	non sis incredulus
(57)	+αν απελθῖσ ἐπῖτυχανῖσ+		
(58)	+εαν ακουσῖ μη δεξι αυτῖν		
(59)	+αλλο πραγμα ζητῖσον	lv	aliam causam quere
(60)	+περι σωτηρησ σωζεται <sup>4</sup>	xl (l. lx)	de salute
(61)	+δευτεροσε εχῖσ τοππραγ- μα+	lviii	reperire abes [l. repetere habes] causa
(62)	+απο κινδυνου σωθησῖ+		
(63)	+περι σοτερῖασ και κερδου <sup>5</sup> +		

<sup>1</sup> i.e. *in pace venit*, where note the Modern Greek use of the preposition *eis* for *en*, and the peculiar word for *pace*.

<sup>2</sup> The Latin of this appears to be extant lower down in the form *alium nuntium ueniet*. But it is open to suspicion whether *αλι* is not an error for *καλι*, as we find in No. cccxvii. *de peregrino ueniet bonum nuntium*. If this suspicion were groundless, which would give the Greek priority over the Latin, another suspicion would arise on the opposite side as to whether *de peregrino* were not the heading of a section, in which case *απο ξενου* would be a mistranslation for *περι του ξενου* and the Latin would have the priority.

<sup>3</sup> At this point the Latin is in great disorder, as follows:

lv	aliam causam quere
lvi	non sis incredulus
lxii (? lvii)	ecce sanus factus es iam noli peccare
lviii	si credis gaudium tibi fiet
lviii	reperire abes causa
xl	de salute
xlvi (bis)	ne abneges sed profiteris
xlvi	qd cupis bonū ē
—	aliū noīū ueniet (sic)
	[i.e. alium nuntium ueniet]
xlvi	expecta modo

<sup>4</sup> Here again we have the heading of a group of Sortes and one answer—*σώζεται*. Cf. No. 63.

<sup>5</sup> Heading of a group of Sortes?

Number of sentence, by count	D	Actual no. in g <sup>1</sup>	g <sup>1</sup>
(64)	+ μῖ ἀπαρνῖση ἀλλ ὁμολογῖ- σον +	lxii	ne abneges sed profiteris
(65)	+ ἰδε νηγσ γεγονασ μῖ κετῖ ἀμαρτανε + ἵνα μῖ τι χιρον συ γῖνετε <sup>1</sup> +	lxii (? lxiv)	ecce sanus factus es iam noli peccare
(66)	+ καλον εστιν το εργον το τελιοντῖ +		
(67)	+ καλον πραγ...		
(68)	+ το ενθυμῖμα γῖνετε ς καλον συ εστιν		
(69)	+ μεταβουλη καλῖ		
(70)	+ ακωη καλη συνερχετε τω...	lxx	si credis testimonium bonum
(71)	+ δη ανυθῖνερ <sup>2</sup> ...	lxxi	oportet te multum luc- tare

At this point the Bezan series drops and we continue with the S. Germain series only.

lxxvi (? lxxii) lucro et uita et dō<sup>3</sup>

lxxviii (l. lxxviii) oportet te accipere gratiam

<sup>1</sup> This is a very important sentence: it provokes our suspicion that it is not a Sors at all, for there is nothing biblical about the Sortes, which do not quote texts. Moreover the glosses are in the S. Germain Codex upon the margin of the Gospel of John, and this is John v. 14. The S. Germain Codex is in two columns and the pages in the neighbourhood of this supposed *Sors* run as follows:

Fol. 126 b.		Fol. 127 a.	
Col. 1.	Col. 2.	Col. 1.	Col. 2.
dicūt ei Jesus	Interea rogabant	Servi occurrerunt	— bant eum Judaei
John iv. 8.	John iv. 31.	John iv. 51.	John v. 18.

Here the supposed Sors stands opposite to John iv. 44 ('Ipse enim Jesus') on Fol. 126 b (Col. 2). It is therefore quite conceivable that the sentence may have stood on the left-hand margin of Fol. 127 a and have been transferred to the right-hand margin of Fol. 126 b. That is, an error in the archetype of g<sup>1</sup> would explain the appearance of the sentence as a *Sors* with the number of a *Sors*. That the Sortes did stand in the ancestry of g<sup>1</sup> has been shown from other considerations.

<sup>2</sup> The last two sentences are out of harmony on the two sides, and the last sentence in the Greek is unintelligible (? δεῖ ἄνωθεν ἔρχεσθαι).

<sup>3</sup> Probably the heading of a group; cf. No. 63 περι σωτηρίας και κερδους.

lxxx	de uita et salute <sup>1</sup>
lxxx (bis)	/// uita /// bona
lxxxiv	spes bona
lxxxiii	an gaudio fiet <sup>2</sup>
lxxxiiii	conuersio bona <sup>3</sup>
lxxviii	si credis bene
lxxxviii	ne discredas hoc bonum est <sup>4</sup>
—	credis qm fiet
lxxxvii	ista causa ex dō ē
xc	fiet tibi ista causa
xciii	ex dō datum est
—	seruate multum <sup>5</sup>
cxvi	de insidiis a multis
cxvii	aliā causā incoas
cxviii	needū est causa facienti <sup>6</sup>
cxviii	tardabis quādiu fiet
c	per omnia absconsa causa manifestabitur
ci	doctrina bona
xciii	auertat non fiet
cv	noli timere
cvi	ne timeas causa
cvii	maior gloria
cviii	impossibile est hoc fieri
cviii	si perdideris quodlibet non inuenies
cx	maiores gloriam
cxx	non potest hoc fieri
cxiii	testimonium ueniet tibi
cxiii	fiet bene
cxvi	falsum testimonium dicis
cxvii	bona communio
cxviii	quod incipis facito
cxviii	facias hoc causa

<sup>1</sup> Again the heading of a group.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently a question, the heading of a group of Sortes (gaudio = gaudium).

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the equivalent of μεταβολή καλή in § 69. Cf. § 278 (mala replicatio).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 56 μή ἀπιστήσης τοῦτο καλόν ἐστιν.

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps this is a part of the following Sors.

<sup>6</sup> Probably *bonum est causa facienti*. Cf. § 66 καλόν ἐστιν τὸ ἔργον τῷ τελείοντι.

cxxviii	ne facias causa huius (sic)
cxxx	ne timeas causa isti (sic)
cxxx	spes bona causa
cxli	insperata causa ne fiet
cxxxiii	causa facta ē et in sermone uenit
cxxxv	saluabitur conligatio et de p̄dicto inueni eorum
cxxxiii	de salute <sup>1</sup>
cxxxiii	quaerens causa inuenitur (i.e. quam quaeris etc.)
cxlviii	gloria spes
cxlviii	sperata causa
cxlviii	ne credas alienis sermonibus
clii	possibile est hoc fieri
cliii	gloriam consequeris securus de omni malo
clvii	uere fiet causa tua
clvii	quod non speras accipies
clviii	causam hanc ne facias
cxli	roga et fiet
cxlii	ora et exaudietur
cxliii	q̄d queris inuenies et inquas <sup>2</sup> causa
cxliv	consilia per alio
cxlv	expecta paucos dies
cxlviii	manifestabitur causa in gaudio
cxlviii	exaudi qc(?) causa tua celtius (i.e. exaudietur causa tua celerius)
clxxx	confide q̄nm fiet
clxxi	causam hanc ne facias
clxxii	roga q̄nm fiet
clxxiii	salus bona
clxxiii	post tempus et causa tua qc(? quod) speres hoc
clxxvii	ne prohibe quod bonū
clxxviii	ne faces (l. facias) ista
clxxxi	ne discredas de causa q̄nm fiet
clxxxii	translatio multos testificantes <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Again the heading of the group of Sortes *περὶ σωτηρίας*.

<sup>2</sup> inchoas? cf. cxi.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently not a Sors, but a various reading in the form: [alia] translatio; multos testificantes. But where in the text of John can we find the place for such a various reading or rendering? The Sors actually stands against John xi. 39, 40.



clxxxiii	non inuenies gloria sed auertitur
clxxxiiii	non accipies gloriā sed auertitur ante sex dies paschae q̄ in die dominica legitur <sup>1</sup>
clxxxviii	peniteris dō in causa tua
clxxxviii	homines lacereuis [lacerare vis ?] in autentica ely domadu <sup>2</sup>
cxv	saluabitur causa
cxci	bona causa inchoas
cxcii	de castitate et sapientia <sup>3</sup>
cxciiii (sic)	et (l. ne) dicas hoc alicui <sup>x</sup>
cxv	secretum hoc nulli diceris
cxevi	ne vellis (l. velis) uerbum superbum <sup>4</sup>
cxevi	quod speres [l. speras] fiet
cxeviii	ne a cupias <sup>5</sup> ista sermonē quia duas facies habet
cxvix	amari habes in causa
cc	adipisceris hoc sed dolus ē
cci	ex moerore ad gloriā ueniet
ccii	praepara ante q̄d incipias
cciii	causam amicitiam habuit
cciii	amicitia redit causa
ccv	ne sol[lici]tus [sis de c]ausa
ccvi	a dō dabitur gaudium
ccvii	bonam habebis gratiam
ccviii	amenda causa
ccviii	inchoa et implebitur
ccxii	ueniet bonū nuntiū
ccxiii	in pace redit causa <sup>6</sup>
ccxiii	non te laedit nihil metuas
ccxvi xxx (sic)	in uni fiet bonū facito

<sup>1</sup> This is evidently in part a lectionary note for Palm Sunday (John xii. 1) which has been copied by mistake.

<sup>2</sup> Here we have another perplexing note which does not seem to be a Sors but a lectionary direction. *Ely domadu* may be corrected at once to *ebdomadu* but what is the meaning of the prefixed *in autentica*?

<sup>3</sup> Not a Sors, but the heading of ■ group of Sortes.

<sup>4</sup> + dicere?

<sup>5</sup> i.e. ne accipias.

<sup>6</sup> *Causa* seems superfluous: it is clearly the answer to an enquiry whether some one will return, under a heading *de peregrino*. [I have some doubt about the transcription of this sentence.]

ccxxiii	ne consideres illud lect <sup>1</sup> in pentecostem item alia infra <sup>1</sup>
ccxxvi	ne prohibeas causa fiet
ccxxvii	de peregrino ueniet bonum nuntium
ccxxviii	uade et consequeris
ccxxviii	sermones alienis <sup>2</sup> abuenient tibi qm̄ fiet
ccxxx	de secundo probas hoc
ccxxxi	ex tristitia gaudium fiet tibi
ccxxxii	ista causa tibi data est et non ali
ccxxxiii	quod queres fiet tibi
ccxxxiiii	omnia manifesta fiet
ccxxxv	discesi <sup>3</sup> oportet inchoare
ccxxxvi	uersi <sup>4</sup> sermonem dicent quia uera sunt quae testantur
ccxxxvii	iā <sup>5</sup>
ccxl	uinces fide testimonium (l. fide testimonium) item lect in pentec.
ccxli	ne prohibeas causam
ccxli	ex tristitia ad gaudium fiet tibi
ccxlvii	interpretati <sup>6</sup> causa tibi immanet
ccxlviii	ora ad dñm ex toto <sup>7</sup>
cclvi	lucrum magnum ueniet tibi si animo oraueris
cclvii	bene istud ex dō datum est
cclviii	forte est ut non soluetur causa haec
cclviii	ne suscipias istud qm̄ /// <sup>8</sup> contrarium est
cclx	alia causa fiet melior huic causae
cclxi	gloria
cclxii	ex tristitia in gaudium ueniet tibi
cclxiii	ista causa tibi soli concessa
cclxiiii	deformari [l. defamari] habes <sup>9</sup> et proscribi in causa

<sup>1</sup> This liturgical note must be detached from the Sortes; there is a corresponding note a little lower down; see § ccxl. The lessons should be noted.

<sup>2</sup> alieni?

<sup>3</sup> disce si?

<sup>4</sup> verum?

<sup>5</sup> Evidently not a Sors, but a various reading or omission in the text of John: but what passage does the variant or insertion belong to? It stands over against John xv. 21. Perhaps an alternative rendering for *νῦν* in John xv. 22.

<sup>6</sup> insperata?

<sup>7</sup> + animo?

<sup>8</sup> An erasure; but nothing lost.

<sup>9</sup> A Romance future?

celxvi	ne speres istud qm̄ non fit non sit <sup>1</sup> haec causa forti cum oratione
celxvii	causa haec saluabitur
celxx	in iudicio ueniet causa dicet <sup>2</sup>
celxx (bis)	manifeste non fiet
celxxviii	mala replicatio fiet tibi
celxxx	ne prohibetur causam <sup>3</sup>
celxxxiv	se dies <sup>4</sup> causa fiet causa in <sup>5</sup> desideras
celxxx	sermonem dixisti ne perdas quia in hoc sta causa
celxxxvii	oportet te peregrinari et postea bene ibi [l. tibi] fiet
celxxxviii	bona causa est complebitur
ccxc	insperata causa
ccxci	in sermone uenies et habes gaudium
ccxcii	lucrabitur in commendato haec <sup>6</sup>
ccxcviii	de causa ista quam queris qm̄ fiet inuenies gaudio <sup>7</sup>
ccxcviii (bis)	de tristitia in gaudium reuertetur causa tua
ccxcvi	de gloriā accipies de causam tuam expectas <sup>8</sup>
ccxcviii	ne adpropinques causam
ccxcviii (bis)	spera gratiam a dō bene tibi fiet in causa haec
ccc	coelata causa inuenietur
ccci	in testimonium ueniet causa
ccci	adipisceris causam quam postulas coram aliis discipulis <sup>9</sup>
cccx	serua verbum quem habet (l. habes) in corde tuo
ccxvi	et aliud misterium reuelabitur tibi aliud gaudium

## EXPL(icit)

<sup>1</sup> fit?<sup>2</sup> The word is superfluous?<sup>3</sup> ne prohibeatur causa : cf. ccxxvi, ccxli.<sup>4</sup> post sex dies?<sup>5</sup> quam?<sup>6</sup> l. hoc.<sup>7</sup> ? [ne sollicitus sis] de causa ista quam queris : quoniam fiet etc.<sup>8</sup> Sic.<sup>9</sup> The sentence is made up of a Sors and a various reading from the following page to the text of John. The passage against which it stands is John xxi. 15, 16. Assuming the reading to belong to John xxi. 15 we have an important and hitherto unknown variant, which answers to the following Greek text :

“Οτε οὖν ἡρίστησαν λέγει τῷ Σίμωνι Πέτρῳ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐνώπιον τῶν ἄλλων μαθητῶν, Σίμων Ἰωάννου, ἀγαπᾷς με πλέον τούτων;

We have now transcribed the two related systems of Sortes in the Codex Bezae and the Codex Sangermanensis; and a few general considerations may be enunciated concerning them.

The two systems are identical as to origin, but neither copy is derived from the other: it would not be possible, for example, to obtain the Bezan system by retranslation from the S. Germain system on account of lacunae in the latter. The converse statement is also obviously true. They therefore come from a previous system.

This archetypal system was, like the S. Germain system, a series written on the margin of a copy of S. John. For there has crept into both of the subordinate systems a sentence from John v. 14, which was meant for the text itself. The error in referring it to the Sortes cannot have arisen in the S. Germain text, as might conceivably be urged in similar cases to which we have drawn attention (e.g. the reading under ccciii), for it is also in the Codex Bezae<sup>1</sup>: it follows, therefore, that the archetypal series was written in a copy of St John, which was itself the archetype of the S. Germain Codex. Unless, then, this archetype was a bilingual text, the Codex Bezae has taken the sentences in its Gospel of Mark from a Latin system of Sortes written in a Latin Gospel. The improbability that the assumed bilingual codex had also a bilingual system of Sortes will be sufficiently evident. It scarcely needs to be stated. We shall, therefore, assume that the Bezan system is a translation from the Latin, as was stated in our *Study of Cod. Bezae*, pp. 10, 11. This does not mean that there may not be a Greek system underlying the Latin archetype of D and g<sup>1</sup>. We have given abundant illustration of the extent to which Sortes were used in Greek forms: and nothing prohibits the belief, if it should be thought otherwise reasonable, that an ancient Greek system is behind all that we have tabulated.

The traces of some earlier system can be made out, though not very clearly. For instance, both the Greek and Latin

<sup>1</sup> And in a more extended form.

sides have occasionally incorporated with the answers the subjects or questions proposed. Compare for instance: No. 37 (περι δικης = de iudicio); No. 42 (περι ερισμου = de contentatione); Nos. 44, 60, 63, lxxx, cxxxiii, cxcii. Evidently there has been a grouping of the questions into subjects. The subject was either written at the head of its group, or has been attached to the individual answers and taken as part of the *Sors*. Sometimes the question only has been transcribed as if it were an answer.

The same fact of grouping comes out from an examination of the answers themselves. There was e.g. a question concerning lost property<sup>1</sup>, as might have been expected; another question about an absent traveller<sup>2</sup>, and so on.

Here we have distinct traces of grouping of the questions as in the system of Astrampsychus and elsewhere. But the traces are not sufficient to restore the system with confidence.

Supposing we are correct in these considerations, we cannot omit to recognise that the assumed Greek translator of the Sortes was not one of the class of *literati*, but a person whose Greek was colloquial. Take for example § 45:

τὸ ἔχεις καμῆν κάμε.

This must be the Modern Greek *κάμνω*, and the sentence means, 'What you have to do, do,' i.e. *Quod habes facere, facito*.

Here we should not draw any inference as to the priority of the Latin from the use of *habeo* as a future of necessity, closely related to the Romance future, for both the Greek and Latin

<sup>1</sup> cviii (bis) si perdideris quodlibet non inuenies  
 cxxxiii quam quaeris causa invenitur  
 cxliii quod queris inuenies  
 ccc coelata causa inuenietur  
 &c.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. 55 alium nuntium ueniet  
 ccxii } ueniet bonum nuntium  
 ccxxvii }  
 ccxliii in pace redit  
 &c.

languages take up this usage. But *κάμνω* for *facio* is a distinct case of Modern Greek, which would puzzle a person who had only learned Greek from books. We shall therefore treat it as a translation of *facio* and in that case *ἔχεις καμῆν* is a translation of a Latin future of necessity<sup>1</sup>.

The extraordinary recurrence of *πρᾶγμα* is due to the Romance element in the Latin dialect of the writer, where *causa* which it translates is simply the French *chose* or the Italian *cosa*. Only once or twice does it seem to have a classical meaning (*in iudicium ueniet causa* § cclxx: *de tristitia in gaudium reuertetur causa tua* § ccxcviii)<sup>2</sup>.

As far then as we have taken the matter, we have found in the Sortes of the system under discussion from the Codex Bezae a system translated by a person very little skilled in Greek, and that little rather conversational than literary, from a collection of Latin sentences which was seriously affected by Romance forms.

We have not succeeded in finding, so far, a geographical home for the transcriber of the Bezan Sortes. The use of *κάμνω* is common enough everywhere: the question however may be asked whether it was current amongst the Greeks of N. or S. Italy in the time when Greek life was flourishing there and when, in consequence of exiles and deportations, it was being vigorously reinforced. We can test the matter from the surviving traces of Greek in the songs and prayers of the S. Italian peasantry, which represent a Greek dialect nearly synchronous with our annotator. Pellegrini's *Lexicon*<sup>3</sup> shows how common is the use of *κάμνω* (in the worn-down

<sup>1</sup> For similar cases take

§ 8 *πρῶτον πρᾶγμα ἔχεις ἐπιχειρίσαι*

§ 61 *δευτερώσαι ἔχεις τὸ πρᾶγμα*

= *repetere habes causam*.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the parallels in the Provençal Sortes given below with their Latin equivalents: e.g.

No. 16 De la *cauza* que primieirament cosiras e quers coceil, d' aqui auras gran gloria

= c. iii. iii. De qua *re* primum cogitasti et consulis tuus animus inde magis habebit gloriam.

<sup>3</sup> *Il dialetto Greco-Calabro di Bova*, pp. 123 sqq.

form *canno*) which turns up in all sorts of idiomatic connexions<sup>1</sup>.

We must not, however, argue from the existence of any special Modern Greek forms to the locality where the MS. was preserved, until we know something more about the diffusion of those forms. They might be carried into any Greek settlements by travelling monks or wandering teachers. And no conclusion must be drawn from their existence until we have looked at the matter on all sides.

The question may be asked, why did the scribe of the Bezan Sortes take the trouble of translating the oracles into Greek, when he himself was a bilingual and probably lived in a district where Latin was understood? Or why, having translated the Latin, did he not transcribe both the Latin and the Greek? It is conceivable that the translation heightened the mystery which attached to the divination; from another point of view it is also possible that ecclesiastical influence had been thrown in the way of the practice. In France and England this was certainly the case, for the councils of various churches show, by their records, a series of attempts to suppress divination by Sortes, or rather to qualify the practice in such a way as practically to cripple it. This is the more remarkable, because it is probable that it is an ancient Christian practice, going back perhaps to the very first period. It has its parallel in the election of Matthias, and perhaps in the prophecies that went before upon Timothy. It was certainly the custom in some parts to hold the open Gospel over a newly-elected bishop, with a view to finding out from the passage disclosed what kind of bishop he was

<sup>1</sup> e.g. here is the opening of a love-song from Castrignano:

Ftehuddi! ecánnu panta s'a puddia  
 Itto cerò pu ecánnu ti foddéa:  
 Ecánnu tossu stantu ce fatia  
 Na fabbrichefsu apanu's mian aléa: etc.

which is being interpreted,

Poveretto, faccio sempre come gli uccelli  
 In quel tempo in cui fanno il nido;  
 Fanno tanti stenti e fatica  
 Per fabbricarlo sopra un olivo: etc.



likely to be; nor is it to be thought of that such a practice was merely prognostic, without influence upon the election; there are cases of candidates rejected by Sortes from the highest offices, sometimes by the device of setting an innocent child to cast his ecclesiastical horoscope (a more expert astrologer being probably behind the arras). Now the custom which obtained so widely in ecclesiastical ordinations would require some severe discipline before it was finally got rid of. And we need not be surprised if we find that there was much vitality in the ancient superstition. But the fact of ecclesiastical censure would explain at once why the Provençal Sortes were found hidden away in a wall, and why the Bezan Sortes were found in Greek but not in Latin<sup>1</sup>.

*Of the locality to which the Bezan annotators should be referred.*

We have now examined with much detail the annotations on the margins of the Codex Bezae, and it is probable that the reader will think that much of the investigation might have been spared, especially if he is not familiar with the problems at issue in the solution of the Bezan origins and alive to their importance.

We have found that these annotators form a series which extends from about the ninth century to the twelfth; they are the work of a group of persons, who are some of them certainly bilingual<sup>2</sup>, and of whom not a single one is what we should call a Greek scholar<sup>3</sup>. Their Greek spelling is almost uniformly barbarous and phonetic, and the Greek that is meant by the spelling can, in a number of cases, be paralleled in, if not identified with, some dialect of Modern Greek. The Latin which those of them who can be proved to be bilingual

<sup>1</sup> The student who is interested in the further examination of the subject of Sortes will find, in the splendid article on the subject in Ducange, a collection of all the ecclesiastical and historical evidence.

<sup>2</sup> L and M.

<sup>3</sup> Unless perhaps J might deserve this distinction.

speak and write can be shown in certain cases to be Romance Latin<sup>1</sup>.

We should, therefore, look for some Greco-Latin centre where both languages were spoken, and not for a Latin centre where Greek was merely read and written. The Greek part of the play has to be acted by real Greeks. Almost all the annotators are devoted to the Greek Gospels and service books, from which they transcribe the chapter-headings of the Gospels and a steadily increasing stream of ecclesiastical lessons. If they used these lessons in the public service as well as transcribed them, they must have kept up a Greek ritual throughout the year. The ecclesiastical year of the Greek Church was, in fact, known to them, for one of the first scribes of the group notes the lesson for its commencement.

Of the group of scribes, J is marked by his deflection from Byzantine rituals as known to us, in the matter of lessons for Saturday before Palm Sunday, and for Palm Sunday. It is tolerably certain, both from the title he gives to this Sunday, which he calls the Sunday of the Pro-photisms, and from the lessons which he marks, which are *not* the ordinary Byzantine lessons, that the time of the festival named was a time at which public baptism was practised, with a ritual that, at least in part, was *Greek*. Whether this is an ancient custom conserved or whether it is an ecclesiastical revival, is a point to be considered. It is, however, not very probable that a newly introduced Greek ritual would have shown so much archaism as is found in the title and matter of the lessons given by it, or that it would have been limited to this single function. The suggestion arises that perhaps we are amongst a Greek community where the revival of Greek is due to a reinforcement of the Greek element already existing or still surviving in the community. Such a reinforcement might be due (*a*) to literary interest, (*b*) to popular interest, arising from migratory additions to the Greek population; or both causes might be combined.

<sup>1</sup> As for example, in the Sortes of M, who translates *causa* in its Romance sense and appears to use an early vulgar Latin future for his verb.

The church or monastery to which the book belonged during these centuries is hard to identify. That it was a church rather than a monastery is suggested by the apparent persistence or possible revival of a Greek rite of adult baptism at a special time of the year. This custom is less probable in a monastery than in a church. Moreover there is a special lesson marked off by L (in a manner that savours both of Latin and Greek) for the dedication festival of the church in question (or could it conceivably be a monastery?).

The hagiology of the annotators is peculiarly scanty: there is only one festival of the Virgin, and that is a late festival and in a late hand (the Assumption, which is simply marked as the festival of the Theotócos). It is, therefore, more likely that the church, or the monastery, was dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin than to the Virgin herself. From the special attention given to the Transfiguration by the scribe L, we might imagine a community like that of the Laura on Mt Athos, who are devoted to the worship proper to that day and even go up the adjacent mountain to celebrate it. But perhaps we ought not to isolate the festival so decidedly.

Two special saints, marked by one of the latest hands, are all that the calendar of the annotators betrays. Both of them are Eastern Saints who have become popular in the West long after their period of first renown in the East, viz. St George and St Denys. They make the impression upon us of migrant traditions. And it is a strange thing that no earlier saints are known than these twelfth century migrations. It is very difficult to believe that the Codex Bezae can have been all its days in the monastery of St Irenaeus at Lyons, without any festival of the patron saint of that community being recorded. Is it likely that St George would have been commemorated and St Irenaeus and St Pothinus forgotten?

But if we abandon faith in Beza's statement that the MS. came from the monastery of St Irenaeus, on account of the absence of the names of the founders of the church at Lyons, we should *a fortiori* be obliged to look for its home in a centre where St George and St Denys are honoured in an especial manner, the positive argument drawn from the occurrence of

saints having naturally more weight than the negative one, drawn from their absence.

The suggestion having thus arisen that we should forsake Lyons, ought we at the same time to abandon France? Or might we venture on the supposition that perhaps the MS. was at one time in possession of the monks of St Denys at Paris? Let us see what can be said in favour of such a supposition. It would explain one of the festivals: it would further explain the traces of Greek learning and Greek liturgies, for Paris, and in particular its great abbey, is a centre both for Greek worship and for Greek learning. Nor is it to be omitted that such studies (and the studies include on the religious side the use of the rituals) had a singular revival in Paris about the time when we first find illiterate and quasi-literate hands at work upon the margins of the Codex Bezae.

The most conspicuous fruit of this revival is the translation of the works of Dionysius the Areopagite by John Scotus Erigena for Charles the Bald. It was natural that such an attempt should be made in Paris, for the fame of the writings of St Dionysius had reached the West and he had been identified with the patron saint of the Parisian monastery. Having thus changed their founder for a more ancient and apostolic one, they naturally made an effort at translating his works.

Miss Gardiner, in her interesting *Studies of John the Scot*, tells us that by this translation of Erigena the works of Dionysius were now for the first time presented to the western world. About a century before, a copy of them had been given by Pope Paul to Charles' great-grandfather Pipin. More lately the eastern Emperor, Michael Balbus, had given a copy to Lewis the Pious, and an abortive attempt to translate them had been made by Abbot Hilduin of St Denys. The evidence for Greek studies at St Denys is thus increased, for we have Greek readers and translators as well as Greek books: but it is admitted that Hilduin was a bad Greek scholar, nor can it be proved that Erigena was a good one. Thus Miss Gardiner says<sup>1</sup>, "John was not a very well-read Greek scholar. He knew, at

<sup>1</sup> p. 18.

least, some stories from Homer (as *De Div. Nat.* III. 39, the recognition of Odysseus by his dog<sup>1</sup>). He knew something of Aristotle, but probably only from fragmentary translations, including an exposition of the Categories attributed to St Augustine; even Plato whom he calls 'philosophantium de mundo maximus' was perhaps only known to him by means of ■ Latin translation of the Timaeus."

Where then did John the Scot get enough Greek to translate such a difficult writer as the Areopagite? It could hardly have been possible to acquire such philosophical and theological knowledge in Ireland: and we are driven to conclude that there must have been Greek teachers in Paris to whom John the Scot had access, and upon whose lesser shoulders this giant mystic stood (if we may reverse a familiar figure). But this is only another way of saying that there was a native Greek contingent in Paris in the ninth and tenth centuries, precisely the time when we begin to find annotators at work on the Codex Bezae.

Moreover it should not be forgotten that we have established conclusively the existence of a nexus between the Codex Bezae and the Codex Sangermanensis in the matter of the Sortes, where they are derived from a common origin. If we may judge from the analogy of the Latin and Provençal group of Sortes, which come respectively from Marmoutier and the neighbourhood of Albi, we should expect that the Codex Bezae and the S. Germain Codex would be not very remote from each other. The hypothesis of a Parisian residence for the Codex Bezae would, at any rate, exactly fall in with such a suggestion. And last of all there is the evidence of Greek worship at St Denys. Thus Martène tells us that the custom of reading the lessons both in Greek and Latin, at least in the principal festivals, lasted to his own time, the beginning of the eighteenth century.

*De antiq. rit.* lib. I. c. 3 § 2. "Hodie in percelebri Sancti Dionysii in Francia Monasterio epistola et evangelium in quinque praecipuis festivitibus graece et latine pronuntiantur."

<sup>1</sup> But the story of MacLaertes and his dog was already known in Irish, and did not need to be read in Homer.

On the other hand it has been pointed out that the Mass said at St Denys in Greek is only a translation of the Latin Mass<sup>1</sup>.

But this fact must not be pressed too far. It does not mean that the Greek Gospel or Epistle used in the Mass is a translation of a Latin Gospel. An examination of the edited Greek Mass will show that the lesson from the Acts which passes for the Epistle of the day is a portion of the Greek text of the Acts, in a rather late recension. And it is quite practicable, in reading the lesson proper to the saint's day, to read it out of the Greek New Testament, just as in the Codex Sangermanensis to which we have referred, the Latin lessons for Pentecost are marked in, and were evidently read from, the Codex.

At St Denys, however, the masses in question must have been in MS. form long before the time of the annotator O, and this suggests that the monks of St Denys did not read the Codex Bezae on the festival of their saint, for their Biblical text appears in a much later recension. The gospel which they read from their special service-book does not show any traces of connexion with the Bezan text. It can hardly have been corrected from it, any more than it can have been copied. And when we reflect that all, or almost all, the liturgical traits in the Codex Bezae have been found to be features of the Byzantine ritual, it is safe to conclude that if it was ever used for liturgical purposes in France, the Greeks or quasi-Greeks who used it must have surrendered entirely to Byzantium, and not merely turned Greek for one or two high days, of which conversion there does not appear to be the least sign in the history of the French Church.

Moreover it is difficult to believe that a city so far west and so far inland as Paris could furnish such a succession of bilingual scribes as is betrayed by the annotations, who know Greek conversationally and yet are often proved to be Latins.

<sup>1</sup> Mr Brightman quotes Vincent, *Note sur la messe grecque qui se chantait autrefois à l'Abbaye Royale de St Denys*, Paris 1864 (*Revue Archéologique*), and has drawn my attention to the printed editions of the mass in question: e.g. *Messe greque* (sic) *en l'honneur de St Denys &c.* Paris, Lottin, 1777.



We might expect one or two travelling Greeks to settle in Paris and to become thoroughly Latinized, but it is difficult to imagine in such a centre so steady a tradition of them as is required by the Codex Bezae. We note also that no reason has yet been found for the celebration of St George in Paris in the time of the same annotator whom we call O. We want a Greek or quasi-Greek celebration for St George as well as St Denys; and this does not seem to be forthcoming.

Now let us try an alternative hypothesis, say one of the South Italian cities, where Greek influences are known to prevail at the time in question, or some Italian city where Greek culture and Greek populations were to be found far into the middle ages (like Naples, Amalfi, Ravenna and Brindisi).

And first for the proofs of the continuance of the Greek ritual in such cities and districts.

Take, for instance, Naples: we have evidence of the persistence or intrusion of Greek factors into the ritual from a number of quarters: Martène, from whom we cited above for the service of St Denys, states as follows:

"In MSS. constitutionibus Ecclesiae Neapolitanae haec leguntur: in die resurrectionis, dicto evangelio, Dominus Archiepiscopus incipit credo in graeco sermone, si placet, et supradictus Archiepiscopus, presbyter S. Georgii ad Mercatum cum sociis suis et archipresbyter S. Mariae Rotundae decantant in graeco sermone in conspectu Domini Archiepiscopi alta voce."

Here is a case of recitation of the Creed in Greek by three apparently Greek ecclesiastics. It is true that the Gospel for the day appears to have been read in Latin, although it was Easter Day, when we might have expected Greek. But there are also traces of the reading of the Gospel in Greek in the very same city: for Joseph Catalanus has a statement to the following effect, in a note on Patricius' *Ceremoniale Ecclesiae Romanae*<sup>1</sup>, "Ceterum consuevisse olim in nonnullis nostri Regni Neapolitani Ecclesiis Epistolam atque Evangelium Graece ac Latine pronunciari in missa, diximus iam in nostro opere *De codice s. Evangelii*, lib. ii, c. ii, ubi etiam notavimus, semel in

<sup>1</sup> pp. 117, 118.



anno Dominica Palmarum Brundisii in Sallentinis Epistolam item et Evangelium Graeca lingua ex prisca et immemorabili ejusdem Latinae Ecclesiae consuetudine recitari consuevisse."

The writer, in explaining the bilingual character of certain Italian churches, has stumbled on the fact that Palm Sunday at Brindisi was notable for the use of a Greek Gospel. *It is the very day on which a lesson is inserted in the Codex Bezae by the annotator whom we call J.* I think it will be admitted that the coincidence is very curious, especially as this is the only Sunday lesson which J indicates.

When we go still further south, we come into the region where we should most naturally expect to find Greek influences. Whole groups of villages continued Greek both in language and ritual until the sixteenth century. Thus Barrius<sup>1</sup>, speaking of certain districts, Pedavoli, *S. Giorgio*, Cocypedonum, Lubrichi and Sitizzano, says distinctly, "hi pagi Graeci sunt et rem divinam graeca lingua ac more faciunt, in quotidiano vero sermone latina et graeca lingua utuntur." The Greek language and the Greek ritual are thus affirmed to exist near the end of the sixteenth century. So in speaking of Leucopetra he says, "a Leucopetra uilla hucusque incolae in familiari sermone latina et graeca lingua utuntur, sacra vero graeca lingua graecoque ritu faciunt."

At Nardo, where a celebrated school of Greek calligraphy was long continued, it is said that the sacred vestments of the Greek rite are still preserved, and that at the chief festivals they recite the Gospel and the Epistle in Greek.

But we need not multiply the proofs that the traces of the Greek ritual as well as of the Greek language in Calabria and Apulia come down nearly to our own times. The fact is that the ninth century, which is the time when the annotations in the Codex Bezae begin, was a time when the Hellenization of S. Italy was at its height. Basilian monasteries arose all over the country, under the influence of exiles and deportations from the East; and in the following century, the Patriarch of Constantinople carried the process of Hellenization to such a

<sup>1</sup> *De antiquitate et situ Calabriae*, p. 173 (Romae, A.D. 1571).

pitch on the religious side as to order the Archbishop of Otranto to entirely suppress the use of the Latin language in the Church.

There is, therefore, no difficulty in imagining a Church or Monastery in S. Italy where the general process of Bezan annotation can have been carried on; the only difficulty lies in the identification of the special features which have come to light in our investigation<sup>1</sup>.

Let us try and recapitulate some of these points:

(1) A Greek lection for Palm Sunday and the preceding Saturday; the name of Palm Sunday being replaced by Sunday of the Pro-photisms.

(2) A Greek lection for the Transfiguration.

(3) A long series of Byzantine lessons, with some peculiarities in the names of the special lessons, such as *περὶ ἀναπαυσάμενων*, &c. ....

(4) A number of peculiarities in the Greek dialect of the notes, both in the lessons, and in the inserted chapter-headings and elsewhere.

(5) A special cult of St George, St Denys, and, for at least one festival, of the Virgin.

Now of these points, the series of peculiarities under No. 4 has been shown, in our investigation, to be exactly paralleled in the Greek of Calabria and Apulia. No. 1 is suspiciously

<sup>1</sup> Morosi (p. 200) sums up the influence of the monastic movement of the times referred to as follows: "E difatti ogni monastero non fu solamente un consorgio religioso che alla greca celebrava i divini officii, ma fu anche una scuola, ove parlavasi e insegnavasi in greco, nel greco volgare di tempi, e ove nella lingua greca erano ammaestrati nello stesso tempo che nella greca sapienza i naturali chi in folla vi accorrevano. Ogni monastero insomma riuscì un focolare di civiltà italo-ellenica. Nè meno forti legami avea coll' Oriente il clero secolare, poichè fino dei tempi di Leone III le diocesi di questa parte d' Italia o coll' arte o colla forza sottratte una dopo l' altra alla giurisdizione de' vescovi di Roma, erano entrate quasi tutte nella giurisdizione de' patriarchi di Costantinopoli; e insieme col rito, la lingua greca era divenuta la lingua quasi universale della chiesa. Il greco anzi a poco a poco divenuto una lingua commune, essendo la lingua della chiesa e del governo, della liturgia e della cancelleria bizantina, dell' esercito e del commercio e insomma delle alte classi della civile società italo-ellenica."

like the ritual of Brindisi, but the proof needs to be rendered complete by the actual recovery of the peculiar Saturday lesson. Nor does this exclude the existence of a similar usage in other churches, for it is unlikely that the Brindisi use has no parallels in S. Italy. What can be said under the remaining heads? Suppose we try the calendar. St George has already turned up in connexion with a church in Naples which has a Greek presbyter, or at least one who can read the Gospel in Greek; but there are much more significant traces of his sanctity as we go further south. Pompilio Rodotà speaks of the prevalence of the cult in his work *Dell' origine e progresso del rito greco in Italia*. He tells us<sup>1</sup> that in the neighbourhood of Corigliano a great monastery was built, apparently with St George for patron; and the surrounding population had the greatest reverence for him, the more so that St George is the protector of cattle. Miracles were wrought by the saint of quite a different type from those which we commonly associate with his chivalry. One peasant found a lost cow; another had an ox raised to life; and finally the patron's day at the monastery became the occasion of a great fair, and when the monastery itself fell into ruins, the fair was transferred to Corigliano, where it is said still to be held on April 23rd, which is the day over which St George presides, and when he is most accessible. It is, therefore, to the existence of an annual benediction of cattle, and not to chivalrous recognition of the patron saint of England by French monks (as Scrivener seems to suggest) that we owe the mention of St George in the margins of our MS.<sup>2</sup>

It appears from the foregoing that there is no difficulty in finding reasons for a special cult of St George in the southern parts of Italy. His agricultural and pastoral value was too great for him to be neglected. If we had no towns, villages or churches<sup>3</sup> named after him, the fact that he was involved in

<sup>1</sup> Lib I. c. x. § 6.

■ There is, however, so far as I can see, nothing in the lesson read (Acts xii. 1—11) to suggest miracles on horned beasts.

<sup>3</sup> M. Batifol, *l'Abbaye de Rossano*, gives the titles of three Basilian monasteries or churches dedicated to St George, viz. St George de Piscopio attached to La Cava, St George of Trocco, attached to the abbey of S. Salvatore

the Life Insurance of Horned Beasts, would be sufficient to explain his recognition in the liturgical directions of any MS. But in finding St George, have we not perhaps lost St Denys? Mr Brightman says not: he points out that the Monastery of Rossano had attached to it a church known as S. Denys de Casubono; and further that in a MS. which formerly belonged to the same abbey, but which is now in the Vatican Library (Cod. Vat. 1456), there is a palimpsest leaf from an Apostolos of the 8th century, which contains the lesson for St Denys' day.

Perhaps the remembrance of St Denys is to be explained by the existence of a church or abbey dedicated to him, but whether this be the case or not, there are traces of the interest taken in his works by the Basilian monks of S. Italy. In an Inventory of the MSS. at S. Salvatore of Messina, made in 1563<sup>1</sup>, we find the entry of a Greek MS. of the works of St Dionysius. In the series of short tracts which are commonly found bound up with the copies of the Greek New Testament belonging to that peculiar group of MSS. known to students as the Ferrar-group, and definitely traced to a S. Italian or Sicilian origin, we find the following curious piece:

Ἰστέον ὅτι ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἱεραρχία τῆς οὐρανίας ἱεραρχίας ἐστὶν ἐφάμιλλα·

α̅ τῶν ἀγγέλων οἱ ἀναγνώσται

β̅ τῶν ἀρχαγγέλων οἱ ὑποδιάκονοι

γ̅ τῶν δὲ θρόνων οἱ διάκονοι· ὡς ἐν βαθμῇ τῶν κατουρανίων

δ̅ τῶν κυριοτήτων οἱ πρεσβύτεροι

ε̅ τῶν ἀρχῶν οἱ περιωδευταί

ς̅ τῶν δὲ ἐξουσιῶν· οἱ χωρεπίσκοποι ὡς ἐν βαθμῇ τῶν μεσουρανίων

ζ̅ τῶν δὲ δυνάμεων· οἱ ἐπίσκοποι

η̅ τῶν δὲ χερουβίμ· οἱ μητροπολίται

θ̅ τῶν δὲ σεραφίμ· οἱ ἀρχιεπίσκοποι· τῶν ἄνω οὐρανῶν.

The writer of this little tract was probably Nilus Doxapatrius (see my *Studies in the Ferrar-Group*, where the whole tract is given in facsimile), and it is either a Sicilian or a

at Messina and St George of Siacca, a convent attached to the same abbey. Note also the casale of S. Giorgio attached to the Abbey of Rossano.

<sup>1</sup> See Batiffol, p. 128.

S. Italian product; but it is also clear that it is a summary of what the writer has derived from a study of the works of Dionysius the Areopagite.

It may be further noted that amongst the MSS. at Grottaferrata, most of which come from Rossano and the neighbourhood, there is one of the 10th century (MS. Z. a. V.) which contains an *Interpretatio vocum quae continentur in libro S. Dionysii Areopagitae*; from which it appears that the Dionysian writings were carefully studied in this region.

It appears, then, that we are not wholly destitute of traces of St Denys in S. Italy. We may not have succeeded in finding a monastery dedicated to him, but we find a church, a copy of his works, and a short tract based on his writings, which appears to have had a wide circulation in this region. The reference to St Denys is, therefore, not hard to explain on the hypothesis of a S. Italian home for the Codex Bezae. We need a little more light on the subject, and this may come at any moment.

Let us now return to the statement which was made that the church at Brindisi read the Gospels in Greek on Palm Sunday, which was the very day selected by the annotator J for marking a Greek lesson in the Codex Bezae. Our first impulse was to say that here we probably have the very church that we are in search of. But a little closer investigation will show that (a) Palm Sunday is a very popular festival in S. Italy, (b) one of the peculiar honours of the day is the Greek Gospel, which is not confined to Brindisi. The reason for the special honour given to the day is something like the explanation of the popularity of the cult of St George; if the latter festival was the day of benediction of the beasts, the former was the day of benediction of the fruits of the earth, and in general, of fertility animate and inanimate. One of the best proofs of this is the custom which still survives of begging from house to house on Palm Sunday, with appropriate songs and promises of a hundred-fold return during the year for whatever is given.

Morosi gives us a specimen of a *Canto delle Palme* from Martano, which runs as follows:

Na proatuddia ce aghelâte  
 Sas vanzinune 's hiliâte ;  
 C' e ornissèssa ja' n' aguo  
 Passiomia na cai agatò :

i.e.

Le pecorelle e le giovenche  
 Vi crescano à migliaia ;  
 E le galline vostre per un uovo  
 Ciascuna ne faccia cento.

The basis of these Greco-Italian songs is to be found in the special prayers for fertility that belong to the day. The following passage from Rodotà will show the survival on the ecclesiastical side :

lib. i. p. 432 "Uno splendido monumento dell' estinto grecismo, rimane oggi nelle greche lezioni della Domenica delle Palme. Dato fine nella cattedrale alla funzione propria di qual giorno, i Ministri dall' Altare vestiti delle loro divise di color violaceo, e il restante del clero delle rispettive ecclesiastiche insegne, s' incamminano con divota e pomposa ordinanza ad un colle, che sorge innanzi al Convento di Capuccini in un sito vantaggioso ed eminente, il quale signoreggia le contigue vaste, e deliziose campagne. Disposto il clero con buon ordine, si leggono le divine scritture in lingua greca, con istraordinaria magnificenza e pietà. Il Suddiacono canta la lezione tratta dall' Epistola di S. Paolo a Romani : *Quamdiu quidem ego sum gentium apostolus, ministerium meum honorificabo* : e 'l Diacono, il Vangelo di S. Matteo : *In illo tempore : cum appropinquasset Iesus Ierosolymis et venisset Bethphage ad montem oliveti*. Indi, chi presiede a questa celebrità, con alcune preci che recita, spinge i comuni voti al Cielo, per implorare della divina beneficenza sopra i fertile terreni, che cadono sotto gli occhi per un lunghissimo tratto di paese, la copia ed ubertà di tutto ciò ch' è necessario all' umano sostentamento : con imprimere loro la celeste benedizione sospirata dalla turba del popolo, dà fine alla solenne funzione."

This passage is conclusive as to the place which the Palm Sunday festival occupied in the district of Rossano ; the survival of the Greek lessons is one of the features that we are in search of, and it is significant that the Gospel read in the open air is not the Gospel of John, but the parallel in Matthew, upon the traces of which we stumbled in deciphering the marginal notes of the Codex Bezae.

Nor is it only at Rossano that the festival in question has this prominence. To quote again from Rodotà (p. 431) :



“L' uso del rito orientale nella Diocesi di Cosenza riceve ancora maggior forza dal canto del Vangelo in Greco, che ivi udivasi risonare nella Domenica delle Palme. L' ordine di quella cattedrale riferito dal lodato Martène, prescrive che il Diacono nella Processione di tal giorno reciti in lingua Greca il Vangelo che descrive l' ingresso di Gesù Cristo in Gerusalemme ; e che indi il Vescovo commova il Popolo con una efficace omelia etc.”

The same custom survives at Messina (ii. p. 270):

“Nella Domenica delle Palme, in cui l' Archivescovo, il Capitolo, e 'l Senato intervengono nella medesima Chiesa con pompa molto magnifica alla celebrazione della messa, cantasi il Vangelo in greco e in latino.”

Here again Palm Sunday is signalised by a popular course and by the reading of the Greek Gospel. No doubt the evidence could be much increased: and we may fairly conclude that this custom is characteristic of the Greek Churches of S. Italy. We shall find it carried almost into Rome itself, for the monastery of Grottaferrata celebrates pontifical mass with a Greek Gospel on high days, and amongst these special festivals we note the dedication of their Church (Dec. 17), the Assumption of the Virgin, Palm Sunday and Pentecost. The list is very suggestive of what Greek Gospels we found selected from the Codex Bezae.

At the same time we must remark that Grottaferrata itself appears from this very list to be excluded from the possible homes of the Codex Bezae. There is no sign at Grottaferrata of tribute to St George as a special saint, except in his occurrence in one case amongst the carved figures on the outside of the abbey, where he is found with Laurence and with Sergius and Bacchus. The chief saints are St Nilus and St Bartholomew; and while the Virgin, to whom the Church is dedicated, occupies a conspicuous place, and especially in connexion with the festival of the Assumption, there is no trace of St Denys. The pontifical masses, in which the Grottaferrata monks are responsible for the Greek lessons, are thus in evidence against the belief that the history of the annotators of Codex Bezae is another name for the history of Grottaferrata.

The argument is, in fact, precisely similar to the one which arises in connexion with the special festivals of the



abbey of St Denys at Paris, where we find front rank given to the following days by means of quasi-Greek masses, viz. Christmas, Easter, Whitsunday, All Saints, St Matthew, St Denys and the Dedication Festival. Here Palm Sunday and St George are significantly absent.

Returning to Southern Italy we find that a similar enquiry excludes the church of Taranto, of which Rodotà tells us<sup>1</sup> as follows:

“Approdando i Greci levantini nella città di Taranto, vi portarono l'uso de' riti greci: de' quali un vestigio è rimasto a posteri oggigiorno, nel canto dell' Epistola e Vangelo in lingua greca nelle messe Pontificali, che si celebrano nella chiesa metropolitana nella solennità del Natale, della Pasqua di Resurrezione, di S. Cataldo protettore e dell' Assunta, del cui titolo essa è decorata.”

Here the special festivals do not sufficiently overlap with those in the Bezan margins, although we again notice the prominence given to the festival of the Assumption. This festival must also have been a conspicuous one in the order of the Greek church at Galatona, which is dedicated under that very title. But I do not know any special features which otherwise characterise that church.

So far, then, as the enquiry has gone we may say that the whole of the indications point to the reference of the Codex Bezae to some S. Italian church or monastery. There has been shown to be (1) a close agreement between the Modern Greek, of which traces are found in the Codex Bezae, and the dialects of S. Italian colonies; (2) a coincidence in usage between the Codex Bezae and the S. Italian churches in the honour paid to Palm Sunday and especially in the use of a Greek Gospel on that day: (3) the cult of St George which is intimated in Codex Bezae is phenomenal (for agricultural and pastoral reasons) in S. Italy, and we actually find towns, churches and monasteries which bear his name; (4) the selection of the Assumption of the Virgin as her special festival is implied in the language of the marginal note in the Codex Bezae. The Assumption is to the Greek churches what the Annunciation is to the Latin. And we have sufficient

<sup>1</sup> *Progresso*, iii. 103.

traces of the regard paid to the day by the S. Italian churches. The weak point, then, in the chain of evidence which we have been collecting is still St Denys, of whom we have not found all the traces that we might have expected, though we have a number of intimations that he was both studied and honoured by the Greeks of Calabria and Sicily. If we might venture into the region of conjecture, the following hypothesis might perhaps be found a tenable one. We will imagine the case of a Greek community which has established the festival of the Assumption of the Virgin, and, if we please, has its church dedicated either to the Virgin or to her *Κοίμησις*. It will be found that the festival in question is supported upon two apocryphal documents: of these one (if it be not rather a group of connected forgeries) is the story of the Passing of the Virgin which occupies a prominent position amongst Greek and Syriac Apocrypha. The other is the much more weighty and important letter of Dionysius the Areopagite to Timothy, in which he records the Passing of Mary and the attendant miracles, and becomes the real sponsor for the new festival, and practically carries it into the calendar and keeps it there. This sponsorship is sufficiently proved (*a*) by the fact that the Roman Church condemned the legends of the Dormitio as apocryphal, (*b*) by the transference into the breviary of a long passage from St John of Damascus, who establishes the festival by direct reference to Dionysius<sup>1</sup>. But if this be the case a church or monastery which held the Assumption of the Virgin in high honour amongst its festivals would readily associate with that festival the honour of St Dionysius the Areopagite. And it is possible that this is the explanation for the appearance of the Saint in the Bezan margins. In that case we should say that it is probable that the home of the Codex was a church dedicated to the Virgin, with, if possible, a centre for the special cult of St George somewhere in the neighbourhood. In that case Rossano itself would do admirably. But it must be remembered that we have wandered into the region of hypothesis in our treatment of St Denys, and that

<sup>1</sup> See Nilles, *Kalendarium Manuale*, i. 246.

the force of the conclusion is affected by the probability of the hypothesis.

Moreover the weakness of the reasoning is that it is somewhat of an *ignoratio elenchi*: for while the establishment of a connexion between the festival of St Dionysius the Areopagite and the Assumption of the Virgin will explain why the former should find its way into the Calendar along with the latter, it will not explain why the two feasts should at a later date stand side by side in a local Calendar, especially when the Menology of selected saints in which they are found is so scanty; unless indeed it can be shown that the very same causes which operated to bring the two festivals into existence continue to operate so as to keep them in practical juxtaposition. In order to see whether there is any further light to be obtained on this point we must dig a little deeper, we must not only enquire whether St Denys stands sponsor for the Assumption, but why he does so. We must study the Menology in the making, and with a closer scrutiny of the origin of the Christian festivals that have come under our special observation in the Codex Bezae.

First of all we will give more in detail the proof that the two festivals came into the Calendar together; then we will show why they came into the Calendar; and finally we will exhibit reasons why they should stand in the Codex Bezae together, and in company with the festival of St George.

The proof that St Dionysius came into the Calendar along with the Assumption of the Virgin lies in the fact that he is the accepted ecclesiastical authority for that festival. If she is honoured on account of him, he is sure to be honoured also along with her. The classical reference is to the treatise *De divinis nominibus* iii. 2 in which Dionysius speaks of the presence of his teacher Hierotheus and himself with Timothy at the Virgin's death-bed.

Ἐπεὶ καὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς θεολήπτοις ἡμῶν ἱεράρχαις, ἡνίκα καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὡς οἶσθα, καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἡμῶν ἀδελφῶν, ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν τοῦ ζωαρχικοῦ καὶ θεοδόχου σώματος συνεληλύθαμεν, παρὴν δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀδελφόμεος Ἰάκωβος καὶ Πέτρος, ἡ κορυφαία καὶ πρεσβυτάτη τῶν θεολόγων ἀκρότης, κτέ.

This passage is the foundation of those passages in the Menaeum that refer to Dionysius, and probably also the ground of the allusions that occur in the various Lives and Martyria of the Saint.

Thus we find in the Menaeum the following address to Dionysius :

*Ἄγιον ἀποστόλων ἀξιοθεὶς θεάτης χρηματίσαι καὶ σύμπονος συγκοινωνὸς γέγονας τῆς δόξης, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν θείαν ἔσπευσας σώματος τοῦ ὄντως ζωαρχικοῦ τῆς μόνης θεοτόκου καὶ σεβασμιωτάτης ἣν ἐπαξίως μεγαλύνομεν.*

Also the following address to the Virgin :

*Ἐν τῇ σεπτῇ κοιμήσει σου, παναγία Παρθένε, παρῆν ὁ Διονύσιος σὺν τῷ Ἱεροθεῶ καὶ Τιμοθέῳ τῷ θείῳ ἅμα τοῖς ἀποστόλοις, ὕμνον ἐξάδων ἕκαστος πρόσφορον τῇ σῇ δόξῃ, μεθ' ὧν καὶ νῦν κτέ.*

Here the sponsorship of Dionysius for the festival is clearly implied ; now it is significant that the extant Apocalypse of the Virgin does not mention the blessed Dionysius or his companion ; and the inference is that the Apocalypse was earlier in production than the Dionysian legend and was not adequate to establish the festival, which had to be bolstered up by the additional evidence of the Dionysian writings. This explains at once why the Roman Church rejects the Apocalypse of the Virgin, but accepts the festival and supports it on the authority of St Denys. It is, therefore, quite possible that there have been two attempts to establish a new festival of the Virgin, of which the first was either unsuccessful or imperfectly successful, and the second, for some occult reason, acquired rapidly an oecumenical popularity. But whatever be the meaning of this, we may take the connexion between the festival of the Assumption and the festival of St Dionysius as involved in the statements which we quoted above.

We pass on to find the reason for this nexus of the two festivals. In which connexion observe that we are dealing with Athenian festivals, for it may be taken for granted that the first place to celebrate Dionysius the Areopagite will be the city that claims him as its bishop. In no other place would he be a name that would naturally suggest itself to conjure with ; nowhere else would he be readily accepted as an authority. In

the next place remark the dates assigned to Dionysius and Hierotheus in the Greek Calendar: we have

Oct. 3. τοῦ ἁγίου Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἀρεοπαγίτου  
or Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἀρεοπαγίτου Ἱερομάρτυρος.

Oct. 4. τοῦ ἁγίου Ἱεροθέου ἐπισκόπου Ἀθηνῶν.

Now the time to which Dionysius has been assigned coincides closely with the date of the Thesmophoria in the Athenian Calendar. The Roman Fasti, in taking over in 191 B.C. the worship of Demeter, assigned the date Oct. 4 to the *Jejunium Cereris*, which was meant to be the equivalent of the Greek *Νηστεία*, or Fasting of Demeter, which is the middle of the festival of the Thesmophoria<sup>1</sup>. The original date of the Thesmophoria is still somewhat obscure: a string of authorities give the 11th, 12th and 13th Pyanepsion as the old Attic date. Plutarch, however, sets the *Νηστεία* four days later. Probably neither statement is perfectly trustworthy: what is certain is that in the month Pyanepsion fell the festival of the Thesmophoria, when mysteries of Dionysus, Demeter and Persephone were celebrated. Thus the festival of Dionysius the Areopagite was closely coincident with one of the great Attic festivals; and the connexion would be perhaps closer if we took the Latin date (Oct. 9) for St Dionysius, which appears to be arrived at by simply writing October for Pyanepsion. A connexion is thus established in another direction between the Dionysius festival and *the worship of Demeter*, and the hypothesis immediately springs to light that the festivals we have been considering are substitutes for festivals of the Great Mother and of Dionysus the Wine-god. On this hypothesis the Assumption of the Virgin stands for the Assumption of Demeter when she returns to Olympus; and St Dionysius the Areopagite is the ecclesiastical decency for Bacchos, Iacchos and Dionysos.

The connexion between the festivals of Demeter and Dionysos is a commonplace of Attic worship: it is expressed in the language of mythology by saying that Demeter and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Preller, *Röm. Myth.* ii. 46: "Endlich wurde seit dem J. 191 v. Chr. wieder auf Anstiften der Sibyllinischen Bücher, zuerst alle vier Jahre, dann jährlich am 4. October ein Fasten der Ceres (*jejunium Cereris*) beobachtet, welches wenigstens der Zeit nach den griechischen Tesmophorien entsprach."

Dionysos came to Attica together, she on her way to Eleusis, and he to Icaria. Their festivals, however, are well known to be nature festivals which developed into mysteries, in which the death and resurrection of the Corn-spirit gave rise to the story of Demeter and Persephone, and the death and resurrection of the Vine-spirit to the parallel story of Semele and Dionysos; the two rituals evolved in parallel myths and ultimately blended, in such a way that Semele disappears, and the three divinities Demeter, Persephone and Dionysos share a common ritual and divide their honours. Even on the side of a simple nature-worship, it was difficult to keep Dionysos and Demeter apart: the harvest and threshing festivals which were sacred to the latter are not far removed either in time or in idea from the vintage festival presided over by the former: moreover the functions of the two deities often overlap, for Demeter sometimes is a Tree-spirit as well as a Corn-mother, and it can be shown that Dionysos also had a wider vegetable government than the single plant with which he is commonly connected<sup>1</sup>.

As we have shown, the date of the festival of St Denys coincides closely with that of the Thesmophoria, and we are almost entitled to say that it is the Thesmophoria or a part of the same, or if this be thought too rapid a reasoning, we may restrict ourselves by saying it is one of the harvest-threshing-vintage festivals, without necessarily restricting it to Athens or demanding an exact coincidence with a date in the Calendar. The identification explains at once the rapidity with which the festival spread, for almost everywhere there was a half-pagan naturalistic worship waiting to be absorbed into a more dignified ritual.

But what of the date (Aug. 15) assigned to the Assumption? Is that a known festival of the Demeter-Dionysos order, or is it a nature festival?

So far as Attica is concerned the date might very well be that of a harvest or threshing festival.

<sup>1</sup> Preller, *Gr. Myth.* i. 769: "Die nahe Verbindung zwischen Demeter und Dionysos zeigt sich auch darin dass jener Göttin ein gewisser Antheil an der Baumzucht zugeschrieben wurde. So wollten die Phytaliden in Attika von ihr die erste Feige erhalten haben" etc.



It is suggestive that in Edward Dodwell's *Classical Tour through Greece* ii. 9, the remark is dropped incidentally that "the harvest [in Attica] is completely finished and the corn all trodden, about the 15th of August." Such a statement is significant of the period at which to look for a harvest or threshing festival at Athens. Moreover we must remember, when we are thinking of Demeter as the Great Mother of the Eleusinian and other cults, that under the shadow of the state-liest and most solemn of mysteries there still survived the ancient worship (if it can be called worship) of the Corn-mother and the Corn-child.

We cannot write the story of the worship of Demeter at Athens or Eleusis without going into the harvest-fields of Attica, and for a complete explanation of the mysteries we may have to go to the furthest limits of the cultivation of the corn, where Eleusinian mysteries are all unknown: in the outlying villages of Greece or in the farthest Hebrides we can find survivals of those very customs which Athens and Rome developed into the worship of Demeter and Ceres. Even if no special Demeter festival can be found to coincide with the date of the Assumption, we might still allow the Assumption as a harvest-festival to absorb and annex a number of commemorations which have regard to the alternate death and life of nature and which represent the dying and rising again of the invisible spirits that fertilize the tree and the grain<sup>1</sup>.

The question then is asked whether Aug. 15 is selected for the Assumption as a substitute for some special Demeter cult? Was there anything special going on in Attica about that time? As we have shown the Attic harvest and the Attic threshing were about over.

We naturally expect that the date will be the Eleusinian

<sup>1</sup> The following note from Preller, *Demeter* p. 326, expresses the same point: "Die Feste der Demeter als Ackergöttin betreffen grösstentheils die Erndte- und Saatzeit; so lange das Korn auf dem Felde war, wurden wohl einzelne Opfer gebracht, ein Fest im eigentlichen Sinne aber fand nicht statt. Unter jenen sind nun einzige Mysterien geworden, wie die Eleusinien und Thesmophorien, von welchen anderswo ausführlicher zu handeln, theils sind sie das geblieben, was sie zunächst waren, Gebräuche ländlicher Religion und Freude, wie das natürliche Gefühl für die Erndte sie eingab."



festival, which is the greatest of the days in the Demeter-Dionysus worship. But it is agreed on all sides that this festival belongs to the 20th of Boedromion, and that therefore it falls in September. On the other hand it is almost exactly the festival of the Panathenaea. The *Dict. of Gk. and Roman Antiquities* advises us that "the principal day [of this festival] was the third from the end of Hecatombaeon (about Aug. 13). Proclus (in Plat. *Tim.* p. 9) says so expressly of the Greater Panathenaea, and this agrees with Schol. on Hom. *Il.* viii. 39, where Athena is said to have been born on that day<sup>1</sup>."

The determination of the corresponding date in a fixed and corrected calendar is not an easy matter. According to some interesting modern investigations, the axis of the Parthenon was directed to a point of the horizon where the sun rises 29 days before the autumn equinox. And August Mommsen (*Feste der Stadt Athen*, p. 55) gives the result of the calculation for 458 B.C. as Aug. 31. This would be the day of consecration of the Parthenon and the birthday of the goddess. But this is a speculative method of enquiry which requires not a little verification and in any case must be corrected as the Calendar is corrected.

Moreover there is a collateral reason for believing that the 13th of August is the chief day of the Greater Panathenaea. For we have the same date given as the birthday of the Arician Diana, one of the oldest and most famous of the great Italian festivals. "During her annual festival," says Mr Frazer<sup>2</sup>, "celebrated at the hottest time of the year, her grove shone with a multitude of torches, whose ruddy glare was reflected by the waters of the lake; and throughout the length and breadth of Italy the day was kept with holy rites at every domestic hearth." Mr Frazer adds a note in which he expresses a little doubt as to whether the day of the festival has been rightly fixed on the 13th of August. "From Martial xii. 67 it has

<sup>1</sup> So Preller, *Gr. Myth.* i. 212: "Die musischen, gymnischen und ritterischen Uebungen beschäftigen die ersten Tage, bis mit dem 28. Hekatombaeon, an welchem man die Göttin geboren glaubte, der eigentliche Haupttag des Festes anbrach."

<sup>2</sup> *Golden Bough*, Vol. i. p. 5.

been inferred that the Arician festival fell on the 13th of August<sup>1</sup>. The inference, however, does not seem to be conclusive."

The date may, however, be defended and sustained. Martial's language is:

In Natalem Maronis.

Maiae Mercurium creastis Idus.

Augustis redit Idibus Diana.

Octobres Maro consecravit Idus.

Idus saepe colas et has, et illas,

Qui magni celebras Maronis Idus.

The writer is celebrating birthdays that, like Virgil's, fell on the Ides. The word birthday in the case of a deity may mean the day of consecration of his temple. But the fact of the festival on the Ides of August is clear. And to the same effect we have in Ausonius

Et medias Idus Maii, Augustique recursu,

Quas sibi Mercurius, quasque Diana dicat.

Supposing this identification to be rightly made, we have the parallel festivals of ancient Italy and Greece brought into clear view. And this confirms us in our belief that the date of the Assumption of the Virgin is the date of the Panathenaea (and the festival of the Arician Diana) and not of the Eleusinia.

But it may be urged, it was essential to your argument that it should be a Demeter festival and not an Athena festival. Recall, however, what was said above that the festival of the Assumption showed two stages of development, one in which there is no sign of Dionysius and Hierotheus, and one in which Dionysius not only appears but is the spokesman and apologist of the festival. Remember also that we are in Athens, and engaged in turning old feasts and fasts into new. The first stage of annexation is to take over the Parthenon and the Parthenon-festival, which naturally fall into the lap of the Blessed Virgin who displaces Athena and is celebrated on her festival. But in the second stage Demeter and Dionysus are replaced, Demeter and her festival are joined to the ancient

<sup>1</sup> It is certainly right for the festival Dianae in Aventino as the Fasti show.

Panathenaic festival, and apparently the Eleusinia are dropped. The Thesmophoria are transferred to Dionysius. The festival of the Virgin is now the Assumption of the Great Mother, the Θεοτόκος, and not the more limited and less interesting festival of Athena. Dionysus and Demeter, however, may still be seen side by side at the festival of the Thesmophoria, for Dionysius the Areopagite has stationed himself close to the Νηστεία or *Jejunium Cereris*<sup>1</sup>.

One test of the general accuracy of the foregoing theory of the festivals is to see the light that it casts on the Dionysian writings.

We may safely say that any one who wishes to understand the great Dionysius and his theology will have to go to Eleusis for the key. His mysticism is merely mimetic of the older doctrine of the mysteries. We will give a specimen of what we mean. Here is a passage from the *Mystica Theologia* (§ 3) describing the way in which Moses initiates the Israelites into the knowledge of the Invisible God.

Καὶ γὰρ οὐχ ἀπλῶς ὁ θεὸς Μωϋσῆς ἀποκαθαρθῆναι πρῶτον αὐτὸς κελεύεται, καὶ αὖθις τῶν μὴ τοιούτων ἀφορισθῆναι, καὶ μετὰ πᾶσαν ἀποκάθαρσιν ἀκούει τῶν πολυφώνων σαλπίγγων, ὁρᾷ φῶτα πολλὰ, καθαρὰς ἀπαστράπτοντα καὶ πολυχύτους ἀκτίνας· εἶτα τῶν πολλῶν ἀφώρισται καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἐκκρίτων ἱερέων ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρότητα τῶν θείων ἀναβάσεων φθάνει.

Could anything be more like a description of an Eleusinian festival with Moses for a hierophant? And this is only a single specimen which the reader of the Dionysian writings can multiply for himself. His commentator Maximus takes pains to apologise for his master when he uses some word that especially belongs to the Eleusinian ritual; as for example, when Dionysius, in telling the story of the visions of Carpus, speaks of his prae-communion prayers as προτελείους εὐχάς, Maximus explains:

Ἔλεγον προτελίσσεται καὶ τὸ προμνείσθαι, καὶ οἷονεὶ προκαθαίρεσθαι εἰς ἐτοιμασίαν μυστηρίου ὡς Κρατῖνος δηλαδὴ ἐν Πυλαίᾳ δράματι. μάλιστα γὰρ τὰ μυστήρια τίνος τῶν ψευδωνύμων αὐτῶν θεῶν τέλη καὶ τελετὰς ἐκάλουν, ὡς τελειούσας καὶ εἰς τὸ τέλειον ἀγούσας τοὺς τελουμένους. τὸ γοῦν παρ' Ἑλληνισιν

<sup>1</sup> For the same conjunction see the inscription *C. I. Att.* iii. 77 to be quoted presently.

ἀσεβῶς λεγόμενον εἰς τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας μυστηρίου ὠνόμασεν ὁ μέγας Διονύσιος καὶ προτελείους εἶπεν εὐχάς.

Here Maximus, as we have said, is apologising for the use of the language of the mysteries by his master. And so we might continue the illustration from other passages. But if Dionysius is in language an Eleusinian, he writes with Demeter and Dionysos in mind, that is, as we suggested, he is Dionysos made decent.

We have explained, then, the origin of the festival of Dionysius the Areopagite and its connexion with the festival of the Assumption. Both are ultimately nature festivals, though they spring from the highly evolved Attic ritual, and as this is the prime cause of their being in the Calendar together, so is it also the explanation why they came to stand together in the Bezan Menology. And certainly in Calabria either of the festivals is perfectly at home: the worship of Dionysos having always been a feature of S. Italian life, and the Arician Diana, whose date so closely coincides with the Assumption of the Virgin, being one of the most popular of Italian festivals, as we have shown above.

When we reflect upon the suggested genesis for the festivals from the Athenian worship, we can see that the solution is in one respect what we might have expected; for it is where the pagan worship is most highly evolved and has its roots deepest in the national life, that we may expect displacements of the older ritual by parallel or mimetic forms of the newer. Think of the superb buildings, the widely ramified priesthoods, the imposing mysteries and all that went to make Athens in its prime the most religious city the world has ever seen; and then ask the question how a newer and a foreign religion is going to annex it all. The answer is, that it will annex it by being itself annexed: there will be a *rap-prochement* in the rituals caused by the moving of the newer cult towards the older, so that Athena need not wholly leave the Parthenon, nor Dionysos desert Eleusis.

But if this be so, what will be said of other stately buildings and ceremonies belonging to Athenian worship? Who is to have the Theseum? It is well known that this beautiful building is

turned into a church of St George: and we even suspect that the cult of St George, considered as oecumenical, received its main impetus from the fact that it reconsecrated the Theseum. It might be thought sufficient to explain the displacement, to observe that a hero should take the place of a hero: but we have doubts if this is all or even the main part of the truth. The early Christians had a habit of annexing and perverting the ancient votive inscriptions of Athens, to which they were perhaps helped by St Paul himself, who appears to suggest that for the ἀγνώστοις θεοῖς of certain altars<sup>1</sup>, one might read ἀγνώστῳ θεῷ, which was certainly not what the Athenians meant; they had not planned a foundation for mysticism when they tried to appease the invisible spirits that had devastated Athens with plague.

Now it is curious that amongst the votive titles of Zeus in Athens we find one in the form

Διὶ Γεωργῷ.

Let a Christian read this, and will he not turn the Zeus that presides over agriculture into a St George? This, at least, is what we suspect to have happened<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> It is quite possible, however, that ἀγνώστοις θεοῖς may be the original reading in Acts xvii.; it would harmonize better with the argument (τὸ θεῖον v. 29, τοῦτο v. 23).

<sup>2</sup> Moreover a similar explanation will help us to understand the genesis of the perplexing Hierotheus who comes in along with Dionysos. The ecclesiastical mind has agreed to abandon Hierotheos of whom no traces can be found, and he has been explained away in the Calendar by saying that it is merely a title of Dionysius which has got into the wrong line.

Thus Nilles, *Calendarium* i. 296: "unde hodiernum [sc. Oct. 4] nostrum episcopum Atheniensium sanctum fictitium habent ac Ἱεροθέον Kalendariorum non alium putant esse ac epitheton ejusdem s. Dionysii Areopagiticae, ut qui revera fuerit *Deo sacer*."

It would be more simple to suppose that the error arose from a votive inscription, something like

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙ  
ΚΑΙ  
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΩΙ  
ἹΕΡΟΙΣ ΘΕΟΙΣ.

From such an inscription it will be easy for the average Christian to extract the Virgin, St Dionysius and Hierotheos.

In this connexion the following votive inscription from Athens in the time of Hadrian will show the place occupied by Zeus Georgos among the gods to be no insignificant one (*C. I. Att.* iii. 77).

Μεταγεινιώνος θεαῖς Β...|του τῆς παντελείας πόπανον· δωδεκόν]φαλον  
χοινικαῖον ιε' νηφάλιον | Βοηδρομιώνος γί' Νεφθύϊ καὶ Ὀσίριδι | ἀλεκτρύονα·  
καρπώσεις, σπείρων πυρ[οὺς] καὶ κριθάς, σπένδων μελίκρατον. ζί' Δήμητρι  
κόρη δέλφακα ἀνυπερθέτως, ηἱ' τρυγ[η]τὸν Διονύσῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς  
ἀν[υπ]ερθέτως] Πνανεψιώνος Ἀπολλῶνι καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι ζ' π[ό]πανον χ[οιν]ι-  
καῖον ὀρθόνφαλον καὶ καθήμεν[ον] | δωδεκόνφαλον | Μαιμακτηριώνος Διὶ  
Γεωργῷ κ' πόπανον | χοινικαῖον ὀρθόνφαλον δωδεκόνφαλον κτέ...παγκαρπίαν  
νηφάλιον.

Here we have Zeus Georgos in excellent company: and it needs (as in the case of Dionysos) only the stroke of a pen to make him into Georgios. Demeter and Dionysos are side by side in the same inscription, and I suppose the festival referred to, the 17th and 18th of Boedromion, is the beginning of the Eleusinian festival (the Great Mysteries): Demeter has her pig [δέλφακα], the blood of which, mingled with seed-corn, is supposed to energize and fructify the grain; and Dionysos has honours of the vintage order. Apparently Zeus Georgos has a festival on the 20th of Maimacterion, i.e. in November, perhaps at the time of country Dionysia. But the confirmation is lacking of a connexion between Zeus Georgos and April 23rd, the inscription being incomplete, and we must leave this part of the problem unsolved, merely remarking that on the Latin side of the house the date in question is that of the Vinalia, which can be demonstrated to be sacred to Jupiter<sup>1</sup>. We have, however, shown that in Christian Athens St George had a position hardly inferior in dignity to that of the Virgin herself. It has been already intimated from the Calabrian evidence that St George is not a warrior but a leading agricultural and pastoral saint. And Frazer has shown, in the *Golden Bough*<sup>2</sup>, that St George is the male counterpart of the May-lady, and is closely related to the King of the Wood of the Arician festival. The following striking passage may be quoted in this connexion:

<sup>1</sup> Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> l. c. i. 209.



"In Carinthia, on St George's day (the twenty-third of April), the young people deck with flowers and garlands a tree which has been felled on the eve of the festival. The tree is then carried in procession, accompanied by music and joyful acclamations, the chief figure in the procession being the Green George, a young fellow clad from head to foot in green birch branches. At the close of the ceremonies the Green George, that is an effigy of him, is thrown into the water.....In many places, however, the lad himself who plays the part of Green George is ducked in a river or pond, with the intention of thus ensuring rain to make the fields and meadows green in summer. In some places the cattle are crowned and driven from their stalls to the accompaniment of a song—

‘Green George we bring,  
Green George we accompany,  
May he feed our herds well;  
If not, to the water with him.’

"Here we see that the same powers of making rain and fostering the cattle, which are ascribed to the tree-spirit regarded as incorporate in the tree, are also attributed to the tree-spirit represented by a living man."

It is very interesting to discover that the Green Man who figures on our public-house sign-boards is a survival of the oldest Nature Worship, and that ecclesiastically he is St George.

His later development as Hero and Dragon-slayer is perhaps due to the fact that in Athens he displaced Theseus; that is, he does not occupy the Theseum because he is a hero; on the contrary, he is a hero because he occupies the Theseum. The dragon that he slays is the Minotaur, and the princess that he rescues is Ariadne.

There is still something to be explained in the matter of his occupation of the Theseum. If that beautiful building was to be Christianised we should rather have expected that Hippolytus would have been Theseus' successor, for Hippolytus, the son of Theseus, was, as the Calendar will show, easily whitewashed. The Roman Church, at all events, had no difficulty in annexing him; and it is significant that he was



(a) the King of the Wood at Aricia, (b) a Roman Saint celebrated at the very time of the Arician festival. For according to Mr Frazer<sup>1</sup>

"Legend had it that Virbius [the King of the Wood] was the youthful Greek hero Hippolytus, who had been killed by his horses on the shore of the Saronic Gulf. Him, to please Diana, the leech Aesculapius brought to life again by his simples. But Jupiter, indignant that a mortal man should return from the gates of death, thrust down the meddling leech himself to Hades; and Diana, for the love she bore Hippolytus, carried him away to Italy and hid him from the angry god in the dells of Nemi where he reigned a forest king under the name of Virbius."

And according to the Roman Calendar we have

Aug. 13. SS. *Hippolyti* et Cassiani, Mm.

Aug. 15. *Assumptio B. V. M.*,

where Diana and Hippolytus still live for those who have eyes to see.

There can be no mistaking who is covered by the name of St Hippolytus or by that of the Virgin; and the hold which the festival of Aricia had on the Italians is clearly expressed by the substitutions for it which occur in the Calendar. And for this reason, as we noted above, we should have expected that St Hippolytus would have occupied the Theseum and not St George. Perhaps the fact that each of the two (Hippolytus and George) displaces the popular tree-spirit (for as pointed out, St George is probably the May-King) would suggest that there is some unknown reason for connecting the two saints who discharge such similar functions. But at this point we are 'gravelled for lack of matter,' and must leave the problem unsolved. What is certain is that George got the Theseum and kept it, and the acquisition profoundly affected his own history<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *loc. cit.* i. 7.

<sup>2</sup> In view of what has been said, the reader will be in a position to estimate the justice of a remark made by a writer in the *Journal of Christian Biography* who, reviewing Calvin's statement (*Instit.* iii. 20, 27) that there were people who esteemed Christ's intercession as of no value "*nisi accedant Georgius aut*

We thus have arrived at a result which might easily have escaped the students of the building of the Menology, that Athens was a powerful factor in the determination of the saints whom we ought to worship and the times when they are most accessible. Moreover the identification of the meaning of the festival of St Denys and his connexion with other ecclesiastical festivals leads us to the belief that there must have been a special effort made to combat Paganism, which led to the establishment of the festivals in question. This would probably be due to the re-action which followed the revival of Paganism under Julian. It is too often supposed that this revival was a very shallow and ineffective movement, whose proper illustration is to be found in the solitary priest of Daphne, striding through the grass of the over-grown courts of the temple with one goose under his arm. But this single picture does not portray the pagan revival. The festivals of Demeter and Dionysus were, at all events, still kept up in Athens; and Julian writes one of his letters to the priestess of Demeter whom he congratulates on her fidelity and endows with the fresh honour (a kindred honour) of the high-priesthood of Cybele. But if Athens was one centre of the pagan re-action, Paris, where Julian lived for so many years, must have been another: and it is significant that at Paris (the 'dear Lutetia' of Julian) we have such decided developments of the worship of St Denys from a previous worship of Bacchus and Dionysos. It is not even necessary to suppose that the Parisian Areopagite was formally imported from Athens: it is sufficient to show that the Parisian cult of Dionysius rests upon a Bacchic foundation. Whether Dionysius was immediately, and from the first, recognized as the traditional Bishop of Athens is not a point of the first importance. The three names Dionysius, Rusticus and Eleutherus are a very thin mask for the rustic Bacchus who is also Liber. And I see that this identification was made long ago by Dulaure in his history of Paris, although, along with the rest of Dulaure's proofs of

Hippolytus aut similes larvæ," expresses himself as follows: "unfortunately for himself, [Calvin] places Hippolytus in the class of ghosts or phantoms along with St George." He perhaps thought he was dealing with Hippolytus of Portus!

the worship of Bacchus in the vineyards round Paris, it has been strangely overlooked. Baumgarten-Crusius is, as far as I know, the only person that shows signs of having appreciated Dulaure's arguments, which led him to the same conclusion which we have ourselves arrived at, viz. that Dionysius the Areopagite was putting a Christian dress on the Greek mysteries. But he appropriates Dulaure rather than appreciates him, and no one would suspect from the slight footnote in which he expresses his indebtedness that the debt was a substantial one<sup>1</sup>.

Even if we do not decide whether the Parisians in their cult of St Denys directly drew upon and imitated what they saw taking place in Athens, we may be sure that there was cross-play between the French and the Athenian Dionysians. The Greek lives of St Denys must go back to a Parisian source, at least in part. We will give one striking illustration of this dependence. The ordinary tradition in the Greek lives of the saints takes Dionysius to Paris where he is martyred by decapitation, and, as is well known, the saint carried his decollated head in his own hands for a long distance. According to the Greek account he was met by a woman named Catula who took the head from him and reverently buried it<sup>2</sup>.

In the mythology Athena carries the head of Dionysus to Jupiter, which explains part of the legend.

The reader of the legend is, however, puzzled by the name of the woman Catula, who appears as an undertaker *ex machinâ*. When, however, we turn to the life of St Geneviève, we find the explanation, for this saint had an especial affection for

<sup>1</sup> See Baumgarten-Crusius, *Opuscula*, p. 270: "In ea incidere tempora librorum originem opinamur, quibus et a gnosi se intentius sejungeret Christianorum philosophia, et ad certam aliquam formam doctrinae externamque ecclesia eniteretur. Tum Alexandrinae scholae etiam hunc foetum esse arbitramur, neque vero e monachis extitisse. Postremo hoc maxime egisse auctorem, ut mystica Graecorum Sacra, Dionysiaca potissimum, ad rem Christianorum admoveret, in quibus supremam Platonismi mentem inesse opinatus est."

He suggests that the name of Dionysius was assumed after the manner of hierophants who take names from the deities whom they worship: p. 271: "nempe quod Dionysiacorum sacrorum interpretes esse vellet inter Christianos, quemadmodum consueverunt olim sacerdotes atque hierophantae se dicere Deorum suorum nomine."

<sup>2</sup> The head is extant, according to Dulaure, in seven different places!

St Denys and desired to build him a church in the place called *Catalocus* where he was buried. Thus the woman Catula is the French village Chateuil!<sup>1</sup> The curious blunder has at least the advantage of showing that the biographer was really working from French sources. But whether the East owes more to the West than the West does to the East in the evolution of the worship and legends of St Denys is a point on which we are not, at this moment, prepared to express ourselves definitely<sup>2</sup>.

Enough has been said to show that all the leading festivals which we have been discussing from the Codex Bezae, are nature-festivals, in spite of their connexion with the highly evolved Athenian ritual: and we can hardly help inferring that the Codex belongs to some country district rather than to the city. Athens is impossible, and Paris not very likely. We may finally banish ecclesiastical and political identifications of our saints; we do not need to quote England for St George or France for St Denys, nor to go in quest of the patron saints of Churches. We may go anywhere where vintage

<sup>1</sup> The accounts in the different lives of St Geneviève vary slightly: one account says: "vicum *Catholicensem* in quo S. Dionysius et passus est et sepultus, grandi amore ac veneratione dilexit. Hic vero Episcopus in sexto a Parisiis miliario martyris vitam finivit."

<sup>2</sup> As we have said above the student will do well to refer to Dulaure, *History of Paris*, for the general treatment of the early pagan cults in that city and for its progressive Christianization. There is an especially interesting investigation, partly conjectural, into the origin of a Church of St Benoît which stood formerly in the Rue St Jacques, which church Dulaure believes to have replaced an earlier Church of St Bacchus, which stood itself on the site of an altar of Bacchus. The identification is based on the existence of the donation of a Church of St Bacchus in 1030 A.D. to the bishop of Paris, and to the fact that the cult of St Sergius and St Bacchus was carried on in the Church of St Benoît, but *minus* St Sergius. The date of the combined festival is Oct. 7, which intimates a vintage festival. Further the Church stood originally in the vineyards. Now comes the extraordinary confirmation of the theory from an inscription in the Church itself. "Sur un vitrage d'une chapelle de cette église on lisait ces mots: *In hoc sacello sanctus Dionysius coepit invocare nomen sanctae Trinitatis.*" The inscription is said to be of the 14th century and behind it and behind Dionysius there lies an earlier worship: the wine-god remains in his vintage chapel as St Bacchus and St Dionysius; as the latter he would have disappeared, but for the inscription; as the former, he would have been lost in St Benedict, but for the festival of St Sergius and St Bacchus.

festivals are kept up and harvest homes are celebrated, and where the spring is marked by special appeals to the fertilizing powers of nature.

But then it must also be a district where the Greek language is in especial honour on these days and where Greek is spoken colloquially. And I think we must conclude from the linguistic and other evidence which has been brought forward, that the weight of the argument thus far is in favour of assigning the Codex Bezae to a Calabrian or at least a South Italian home, at least as late as the twelfth century<sup>1</sup>.

There is one objection, however, which ought to be stated which may prevent us from accepting the foregoing conclusion too absolutely.

An examination of a number of MSS. from Rossano and the neighbourhood, preserved in the library of Grotta Ferrata, does not furnish us with any Greek hands that are paleographically like the annotating hands of the Codex Bezae. So that I am disposed to believe that they are not Rossano hands; it is possible that a further investigation might reverse this judgment, but so far as I have gone with the matter, Calabrian scripts do not illustrate the Bezan annotators as I expected they would. This may mean nothing more than that the schools of Rosanno, Nardo, &c., are excluded. The induction is not to be made so wide as to exclude the whole of S. Italy.

With this caution, we may go on to examine another point on which we have as yet said nothing, viz. the question of the scribe that restored the missing pages in the Codex Bezae.

A certain number of leaves are lost from the Codex Bezae, containing parts of the Gospels, the Acts, the Catholic Epistles and some other unknown matter. But of these missing leaves those that constitute lacunae in the Gospels have been restored by a hand which is commonly referred to the tenth century: viz. the seventh leaf, the quire which ran from the 169th to the 176th, and the 348th.

It is required to know whether this restoring hand is capable of a geographical as well as a chronological delimi-

<sup>1</sup> That is, if Scrivener has rightly assigned the date of the scribe O. We incline to think he may be earlier than the twelfth century.

tation, and whether it has any connexion with the annotating hands that are discussed in this volume. It has usually been thought sufficient to compare those restored portions of a bilingual Gospel with other similar bilingual and half-uncial texts such as the Codex Sangallensis, and the Codex Augiensis, and to say that it is, like them, clearly a Western product. But here again the delimitation is too indefinite to be satisfactory. Is there anything, then, further that can be found out with regard to the restorer?

First of all we may say something as to the position in which he stands relatively to the annotators. On these restored leaves there are no lections marked, nor are there any *τίτλοι*. Now considering that eight successive leaves of John are restored, and that nowhere in the rest of that Gospel do we find eight successive leaves without lections, we are entitled to conclude that the supplied leaves are later than the hand that supplied the lections in John: i.e. the restoring hand (R) is later than L.

With regard to the *τίτλοι* we cannot speak so positively; for they do not begin in Matthew till the 28th leaf, and in John they do not run beyond the 145th leaf, so that they do not traverse the ground where the lacuna is found.

A similar statement may be made with regard to the Sortes which are written in Mark; they stop on the 321st leaf, and so we cannot say whether they were earlier or later than the supplied 348th leaf.

But here we recall what has already been proved, that the hand which wrote the *τίτλοι* in John ( $M_3$ ) was older than L, from the fact that an annotation of L was found written over an erased *τίτλος*. We may then say, *à fortiori*, that the annotator ( $M_3$ ) is older than the restorer (R). We thus begin to find the chronological sequence. The next thing to be done is to examine the transcription and see whether, like the other scribes, this one betrays his nationality or his locality.

Imprimis, it will be found that the restorer is a Latin and not a Greek, for he writes

παρρησια for παρρησια in John xviii. 20,



and this bilingual error in the spelling is due to the fact that the Latin *p* was more familiar to him than the Greek. As to the actual Greek that he writes, it is full of itacisms and blunders, such as do not seem, at first sight, to be those of a person acquainted with the spoken Greek. Some of them are such as are common in all periods, like  $\alpha$  for  $\epsilon$ , and  $\omicron$  for  $\gamma$ , but others appear to be his own, as when five times he writes a short *e* for a long one ( $\epsilon\nu$  for  $\eta\nu$  John xviii. 14, 15,  $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\omega\tau\epsilon\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu$  John xviii. 21,  $\epsilon\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\eta$  John xix. 24,  $\epsilon\delta\epsilon\sigma\alpha\nu$  for  $\eta\delta\epsilon\iota\sigma\alpha\nu$  John xx. 9).

These are not what we should expect from a person acquainted with spoken Greek.

As we examine his transcript more closely, we find two cases where the pronunciation has affected the script, viz. :

$\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$  for  $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon$ , John xviii. 39.

$\alpha\rho\tau\omega\sigma\iota\nu$  for  $\alpha\rho\theta\omega\sigma\iota\nu$ , John xix. 31.

In both cases the aspirate has disappeared. But this may just as well be due to his reading Greek like a Latin, as to his pronouncing it like a vulgar Greek.

One more curious error comes to light. In John xviii. 26 we have the spelling

$\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\kappa\ \tau\omega\nu\ \delta\omicron\lambda\omega\nu$

where we recognize the very same phonetic error which occurred in the  $\tau\acute{\iota}\tau\lambda\omicron\iota$  as written by  $M_1$  on f. 69 b ( $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \delta\omicron\lambda\omicron\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$ ). This can hardly be accidental, and it tempts us to ask whether  $M_1$  is not actually the restorer. We have, it is true, a similar case in  $M_3$  where  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \alpha\rho\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  is written  $\tau\hat{\omicron}\varsigma\ \alpha\rho\tau\hat{\omicron}\varsigma$ , but here the pronunciation is indicated by the bar, and the absence of any such bar in  $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  in R and  $M_1$  is the more striking. We shall, at all events, throw the two scribes very close together, and place them in a bracket so far as time and place are concerned<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Of other transcriptional errors, not the common itacisms, we have  $\epsilon\iota\kappa\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  for  $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$  which appears to be a transposition ; and twice we have  $\iota\omicron\upsilon\delta\alpha\iota\omicron\iota\varsigma$  spelt as  $\iota\omicron\upsilon\delta\alpha\iota\varsigma$ , perhaps under Latin influence. Several times  $\alpha\iota$  and  $\epsilon\iota$  are confused.



So far, so good : we have seen that R is a Latin, and we have him placed in a chronological series

$$J, M_3, L \text{ and } \begin{Bmatrix} M_1 \\ R \end{Bmatrix}.$$

It remains to be seen whether the paleographer can tell us anything more about R, from a study of his handwriting.

Here again the judgment must be, I think, that the restoring hand is not Calabrian. The closest parallel, paleographically, is the hand of Sedulius Scottus in the famous Psalter that is named after him. Here we are really in the presence of Western characteristics ; and the errors alluded to above, such as the Latin confusion between  $\epsilon$  and  $\mu$ , are of the same type. It is not, however, fatal to an Italian origin for the Codex Bezae, if Western character should be affirmed of the hand of the restorer. For the MS. may have moved north and west by successive stages, and the restorer may really belong to a different home from the main body of the annotators.

We must now leave the matter to the further criticism of our fellow-labourers. They will credit us with an absence of prejudice even if they cannot obtain from us all the support that might be desired for a somewhat startling hypothesis. And if Mr Lake's speculation should be further confirmed (and Mr Brightman and myself have certainly spoken well of it), it will be a distinct step forward in the solution of one of the most difficult problems in the history of the New Testament.

It is to be regretted that the result, if established, will be a serious blow to the credit of the great reformer Beza, for we cannot go to Rossano or Amalfi or Ravenna or to any other Italian home for the Codex without greatly reducing the probability that Beza spoke the truth when he called his *codex vetustissimus* by the title Claromontanus or Lugdunensis. We may evade the slur upon his accuracy by suggesting that the MS. was indeed at Lyons, but not for the length of time that Beza imagined, as in the case of its having been brought from the council of Trent by William à Prato the bishop of Clermont, and then bestowed by him upon the monastery of St Irenaeus. Beza would, in that case, have been guilty

merely of exaggeration in saying that it had long lain covered with dust at Lyons; but this exaggeration would be natural enough, for all explorers and discoverers have a tendency to believe that the books which they bring to light are of no value at all in the eyes of those from whom they acquire them, a judgment which exalts their own reputation for acuteness in detecting the treasure and is an apology for anything of a doubtful character in the manner of its acquisition.

It might also be suggested that it was a mistake to attach so much importance to the statements which Beza makes as to the previous history of the MS., when examination of the use which he makes of its text shows conclusively that he did not recognize it to be the very MS. which had been collated for Robert Stephen by his friends in Italy. But this suggestion merely means that criticism of New Testament MSS. was still in its infancy when Beza was at work on the text. It is one thing to have an imperfect judgment as to the value of the inside of a book, and quite another thing to make a wilful misstatement as to its external history. Even so late as the time of Bianchini, who certainly ought to have known better, we find the Codex Bezae treated as distinct from the Codex  $\beta$  of Stephen (cf. Bianchini, *Evan. quadruplex*, p. 483 "Lucae c. 6. v. 4 extat hic *et in* Steph.  $\beta'$  insignis pericope de homine operante die sabbati"). That is, it is a blunder but not a fault, and does not count for much, if anything, in our estimation of Beza's repeated (though slightly inconsistent) statements that the MS. was of French origin. And if we were in the habit of yielding to impressions (which may be only a name for disguised prejudices) we should object to the opinion of our Oxford friends, who have urged us to abandon Beza and to cross the Alps in search of the home of the MS., that we think nobly of Beza and nowise approve their opinion. But as our investigation of the annotations has shown that, on the linguistic side at least, there are decided evidences of Italian influence, we have given the result of our examination as tending strongly to confirm the Oxford view. Nor do I see how the scale can be turned back again, except by the demonstration of the existence of a Greek school amid the monastic and ecclesiastic life of Southern

Gaul, continuously existing, reinforced by immigration and carried far into the heart of the middle ages. For such a movement we have not succeeded in finding the necessary evidence. And we, therefore, leave Beza, for the present, with the rope of an unfavourable criticism about his neck.



## APPENDIX A.

### *Sortes alearum in Greek verse.*

To the fragment of a collection of Sortes from Attalia we may add the following from Tefeny in Asia Minor, published by Sterrett<sup>1</sup>. The oracles are inscribed on the four sides A, B, C, D of a quadrangular stone, of which one side is illegible by position.

#### A.

- I. (aaaaγ ζ') \* \* \* \* \*  
 [εἰ δέ κε] μῦνοι [τέσσαρες καὶ τρεῖς] εἰς.  
 [στι] [κ]ακότητα φυσ...  
 [ς ?] ἄθλα ἤξεις καὶ δω γλ[αυκῶπις Ἀθήνη  
 βου[δορο ? ο] καταθ[ύμ]ιος ἦν ἐπι[βάλλη].
- II. [δα]aaa η' Μοιρῶν.  
 τέσσα[ρα δ' εἰς π]είπτων καὶ μῦνοι τέσσαρες ὄντες.  
 π[ρᾶξιν ἦν π]ράσσεις μὴ π[ράσ]σης, ἀλλ' ἄρα μείνον·  
 ἀμφὶ δὲ κάμνο[υσιν], χαλεπὸν, ἀ[δ]ιαμήχανόν ἐστι  
 [ύ]πὸ δῆμον ἰδέσθαι, χρόνῳ οὐθ[έν κα]κὸν ἔσται.
- III. γγaaa θ' Ἄετοῦ Διός[ς].  
 εἰ δέ κε πείπτωσιν δύο τρεῖσι, τρεῖς δ' ἅμα μῦνοι.  
 ἀετὸς ὑψιπέτης εἰς δεξιὰ χειρὸς οδείτης,  
 ὦν ἐπὶ μαντείαν ἀγαθὴν σὺν Ζηνὶ μεγίσ[τ]ῳ  
 τεύξῃ· ἐφ' ἣν ὁρμᾶς πρᾶξιν μηθέ[ν] δὲ φοβήθης.
- IV. 5aaa ι' Δαίμο[ν]ος Μεγίστου.  
 [ξ]είτης, μῦνοι τέσσαρες ὄντες.  
 δαίμονι ἦντιν' ἔχει[ς] εὐχὴν ἀποδόντι σοι ἔσται  
 βέλτερον εἰ μέλλεις π[ράσ]σειν κατὰ νοῦν ἂ μεριμνᾷς.  
 Δημήτηρ γάρ σοι καὶ Ζεὺς [σ]ωτήρες ἔσονται.

<sup>1</sup> *An Epigraphical Journey in Asia Minor*, p. 79, in *Papers of the American School at Athens*, vol. ii.

V. αααδγ ι' Τύχη[ς Εὐ]δαίμονος.  
 εἰ δέ κε τρεῖς μῦνοι, εἰς τέσσαρα, τρία ὁ πέμπτος.  
 τὴν [πρᾶ]ξιν μὴ πράξης ἦν νῦν ἐπιβάλ[λ]η,  
 [καί] τ' ἐν νοῦσφ' ἐόντα θεοὶ κατέχο[υσί σε] ταῦτον  
 τὸν τε πόνον λύσο[υσί σ]οι καὶ οὐθὲν κακὸν ἔσται.

VI. [γγγαα] ια' Νείκης.  
 εἰ δέ κε τρεῖς [τρεῖοί εἰσ]ιν, χεῖοι δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι.  
 λήμ]ψη δ' ἂ θέλεις τα [   
 [τειμι]τον σε[   
 πάντα κρατήσεις.

## B.

VII. [δ]δδαα ιδ' Ἀγ[αθοῦ Δαίμον]ος.  
 εἰ δέ κε πείπτωσ[ιν τρεῖς τ]εσσάρεοι καὶ δύο μῦνοι.  
 [ἡγεμ]ονεύσει σοι δαίμων ὁδὸν [ἦν ἐπ]ιβάλλη  
 πένψει δ' εἰς ἀγά[πη]ν σε φιλομμείδης Ἀφροδείτη  
 νῦν καρποῖς ὕπαγε καὶ ἀπημον τ οيره

VIII. αγγδδ ιέ' Διὸς Σωτήρ[ος].  
 εἰς μῦνος, δύο τρίοι, δύο τετρώοι.  
 ἦν ἐπιβάλλη πρᾶξιν θαρρῶν ἔθι δρᾶσε·  
 ἐνχείρει, καλὰ μαντεῖα θεοὶ τὰδ' ἔφηναν,  
 μήτ' ἐπὶ νοῦν ἀλέου· οὐθὲν γάρ σοι κακὸν ἔσται.

IX. αααδδ ιέ' Διὸς Ἀμμωνος.  
 μῦνοι τρεῖς καὶ δύο [ξ]εῖται.  
 ἦν φρεσὶν ὀρμαίμεις [πρᾶξιν τα]ύτην ἔθι θαρ[ρ]ῶν  
 πανδε[σ ν δώσει πρᾶ[ξ]εις δδς? Ἀθ[ήνη]ν  
 ἡδὲ καὶ? Ζεὺς] ὑψιβρεμέτης σωτήρ [τε πατήρ τε]

X. γγγγγ ιέ' Τύχης.  
 αἱ πάντες τρεῖοι.  
 ἡδὲ σα βρέφος ξ[ηρ]οὺς ἔχειν  
 α πάλιν βλ[άσ]τησε καὶ ἂ γ]άλακτος  
 κα[ί] π]οτε ἔξεις ι πε]ρὶ ὧν μ' ἐπερωτᾷς.

XI. δγδδα [ιέ'] Διὸς Ξενίου.  
 τετρῶ εἰς καὶ τρίος καὶ ξεῖθος εἰς κ[αὶ δ]ύο μῦνοι.  
 πρᾶξιν ἐφ' ἦν μέλλεις ἔ[έν]αι μὴ σπεῦδ' οὐπω γὰρ ὁ καιρὸς  
 καὶ [τ' ?] ἐ(ν) νοῦσφ' δὲ τ' ἔονται θεοὶ σώζο[υσιν ε]τοίμως  
 καὶ τὸν ἐν ἄλλῃ χῶ[ρα] πόνον] λήξειν θεὸς αὐδᾶ.

XII. δγγγα [ις'] Ἑρακλ[έου]ς.  
 ξεῖτος εἰς καὶ τρε[ῖς τρεῖοι], μῦνος εἰς.  
 οὐπω καί[ρ]ος, καθ'εὐδεις δὲ σὺ, μὴ κενὰ [πράξης]  
 μη]δ' ὥς τίς τε λέων τυφλὴν [ἐκύησε λοχ]εῖην  
 ἥσυχα βουλεύου κα[ί] σοι θεὸς ἡγ]εμονεύσει.

- XIII.  $\varsigma\delta\delta\alpha\alpha$   $\iota\varsigma'$  .....  
 ξεί[θ]ος εἰς τεσσάρους] δύ[ω καὶ δύο μῶνοι.  
 . . . . .

## C.

- XIV. [ $\delta\varsigma\varsigma\alpha\alpha$   $\iota\eta'$ ] .....  
 [τέσσαρα δ' εἰς] καὶ ἐξείται δύο καὶ δύο μῶνοι.  
 [μὴ πράξης] πρ[ᾶξιν ταύτην, [οὐπω γὰρ?] ὁ καιρὸς  
 ἐν γενέσει  $\nu$  καὶ ὁ κίνδυνος παρ[αβαίνει]  
 καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων μαν[τειῶν] ἐστί καλῶς σοι.
- XV.  $\alpha\varsigma\delta\delta\gamma$  [ $\iota\eta'$  Διὸς K]εραυνίου.  
 μῶνος εἰς κα[ὶ ξεί]τος, δύο τετρῶοι καὶ τρίος [εἰς].  
 οὐκ ἔστιν πράξοντα κα[τὰ] γνώμην ἃ μεριμνᾷς  
 οὔτε γὰρ ἐν [ᾗ]λλῳ δῆμῳ ἵεναι σύμφoron ἐστιν  
 οὔτ' ὠνούμενος αἰσθήσῃ ἢ ὀνήσιμον ἔσται.
- XVI.  $\delta\delta\delta\gamma\gamma$  [ $\iota\eta'$ ] Δαίμονος Ἰκεσίου.  
 τετρῶοι τρ[ε]ῖς καὶ δύο τρίοι.  
 οὐ σοι ὁρῶ βου[λ]ήν τήνδε ἀσφαλὴν, ἀλλ' ἀνάμεινον.  
 εὐπράξεις ἔσται σ[ε] τυχεῖν μετὰ ταῦτα· τὸ νῦν δὲ  
 ἥσυχος ἦσο, θεοῖς πείθου, καὶ ἐπ' ἐ[λ]πίδος ἴσθι.
- XVII.  $\varsigma\gamma\gamma\gamma$   $\iota\eta'$  Ἀγαθο[ῦ K]ρόνου.  
 ξείθος καὶ τέσσαρες τρίοι.  
 μὴ σπεύσης, δαίμων γὰρ[ρ] ἀνθίσταται, ἀλλ' ὑπόμ[ε]νον  
 μῃ[δ'] ὥς τις τε κύων τυφλὴν ἐκύησ[ε] λοχεῖν.  
 ἥσυχᾳ βουλεύου, καὶ σο[ὶ] χαρίεντα τελεῖται.
- XVIII.  $\varsigma\varsigma\alpha\gamma\gamma$  [ $\iota\theta'$ ] Ἐλπίδος Ἀγαθῆς.  
 εὐοδὰ σοι π[ά]ν[τ] ἐστὶ καὶ ἀσφαλὴ περὶ ὧν μ' ἐπερωτᾷς,  
 μῃδὲ φοβοῦ· δαίμων γὰρ [όδ]ηγῇσιν πρὸς ἅπαντα·  
 παύσει [γ]ὰρ λύπης χαλεπῆς, λύσει δ' ὑπόνοιαν.
- XIX.  $\delta\delta\delta\varsigma\alpha$   $\iota\theta'$  Διὸς Κτησίου.  
 θαρσῶν ἐγχείρει [κ]αὶ ἐφ' ἐλπίδος ἐστὶν ὁ χρησμὸς  
 ὧς[?] τι μανύει? καὶ τὸν νοσέοντ' [ἀνασ]ώ[σ]αι  
 εἰ δέ τι μαντεύῃ χρ  $\chi\rho$  εἰς ἀπολήμψῃ.
- XX.  $\gamma\delta\delta\delta\delta$  [ $\iota\theta'$ ] [Ε]ρ[μ]οῦ Κερδενπόρου.  
 μ βουλὴν σαῖσι φρεσὶν  $\nu$ ων ἕνεκ' ἔσται  
 πάντα [δέ σοι ἐπι]τεύξῃ ἃ βούλει ἔ[χ]ων...  
 μαντεύῃ καὶ οὐθέν [σοι κακὸν ἔσ]ται.
- XXI.  $\varsigma\gamma\gamma\gamma\delta$   $\iota\theta'$   
 . . . . .

D not accessible.



Without attempting to expend editorial care upon these inscriptions, we can see at once their exact similarity to the inscription from Attalia which we printed above. And we can further note a curious trait of heredity which connects these Sortes with the associated systems of Rocquain and Pithoeus. Twice in the deciphered matter we have an allusion to blind puppies which have come into the world too soon, the reference being made as a text from which to advise the enquirer against undue precipitancy. Thus

XVII. *μη̄ σπεύσης, δαίμων γὰρ ἀνθίσταται, ἀλλ' ὑπόμεινον,  
μηδ' ὥς τις τε κύων τυφλὴν ἐκύησε λοχείην·  
ἦσυχὰ βουλεύου καὶ σοὶ χαρίεντα τελεῖται.*

So in XII.

*οὔπω καιρὸς, καθεύδεις δὲ σὺ, μη̄ κενὰ πράξεις  
μηδ' ὥς τις τε λέων τυφλὴν ἐκύησε λοχείην·  
ἦσυχὰ βουλεύου καὶ σοὶ θεὸς ἡγεμονεύσει.*

Now if with these we compare the following oracle from Pithoeus [and Rocquain], we shall see that there is somewhere a nexus between the early inscription from Asia Minor and the late French oracles.

v. III. III. *Canis festinando caecos catulos parit, sic et tuus animus:  
improperare noli de quo postulas; si patiens fueris, ueniet tibi  
ultro in potestate tua cum magno gaudio.*

As we have said, there is an extraordinary similarity between the Sortes from Tefeny and the Sortes from Attalia. On looking more closely, we observe that in the case of the Tefeny inscription, there has been an attempt made to arrange the Sortes according to the total of the dice thrown. The numbers run thus

- A 7 to 11 (six oracles)
- B 14 to 16 (seven oracles)
- C 18 to 19 (eight oracles)
- D absent

and on looking at the Attalia inscription we see that they are in a series whose totals run from 22 to 26. It is, then, extremely likely that the Attalia inscription furnishes a part of the unread matter on the Tefeny stone and may be edited with it. Tefeny is not many hours from Attalia, so that the propinquity of the stations emphasises and illustrates the internal connexion of the text. The two inscriptions must be bracketed together.

## APPENDIX B.

### *The Latin and Provençal system of Sortes.*

We have described in the text a system of Sortes in use in the South of France, which was published in Latin by Pithoeus and in Provençal by Rocquain, both Latin and Provençal being suspected of derivation from a lost Greek original. We here reprint the system at length, for convenience of reference, as these systems of Sortes are not easy to find and occur in out-of-the-way corners of Journals, or in Supplements to costly folios, which are often inaccessible to scholars. We give the Latin on the right-hand column, and its version on the left, as follows :

#### PROVENÇAL (OF ROCQUAIN).

Eu pregui lo Paire e l' Fil e  
l' Sanh Esprit : pregui los Angil(s)  
et l's arcangils : pregui las Senh-  
orias e las Pozestats ; pregui los  
Patriarchas et l's Prophetas : pregui  
los Apostols e l's Martirs ; pregui  
los Cofesatz e las Verges e totz lo(s)  
Sanhs de Dieu, que cil preguo la  
Sanhta Trinitat e la Unitat, lo  
Paire et l' Fil et l' Sanh Esperit,  
per lo meus esgardemen, que vueil  
far que demostre à mi drecha via  
per aquestas letras e per aquesta  
leiso e per aquestas sortz, que no  
m' puesca lo Diables decebre en  
aquesta mia bezonha, per l' apela-  
ment e per lo clam de nostre senhor  
Ihesu Christ, loqualo viu e renha  
dreg per totz los cegles dels cegles  
verament.

#### LATIN (OF PITHOEUS).

##### *Sortes Apostolorum.*

In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, et in nomine Summae et Individuae Trinitatis. Incipiunt sortes Sanctorum Apostolorum quae nunquam fallentur nec mentientur. In ordine sortium est consuetudo, quod si illas aliquis interrogare voluerit, triduo jejundet cum pane et aqua, et tertia die omne officium Sanctae Trinitatis psallat et expleta missa cum magna humilitate orando et lachrymando a sortibus petat quidque necesse fuerit. Pater Noster.

## PROVENÇAL (OF ROCQUAIN).

Aduebri, Senher, las doptozas causas que so els nostres cortes per aquestas sortz, et endresa la mia sort enaisi coma endresiest lá sor dels nautaniers que sofriu peril, quant cazet la sortz sobre Jonas, et enaisi coma endresie(s)t las sortz dels teus Apostols, cant cazet sobre Mathia. Tramet, Senher, esperit veraí, loqual tramesist el teu propheta, loqualo vezia tot lo poble d' Ysrael sobarat si con oeilhas maridas els pueg(s). Decasa, Senher, esperit deceben loqual tu tramesist Achap, cant cazet am tota cavalguada. Endrese, Senher, aquestas sors, laqual metem el teu nom, pels teus meritx e per las orazos e per las preguieiras de totz los teus sanhs angil(s) liqua! governo las sortz de totz los amix, que las sortz aduebro a nos d' aquesta causa per Deu lo ver.

Aiso so las sortz dels apostols.

## LATIN (OF PITHOEUS).

*Oratio.*

Aperi, Domine, dubia quae sunt in cordibus nostris per hanc sortem, et dirige eam sicut direxisti sortem nautarum qui naufragium patiebantur, quando cecidit sors super Jonam, et sicut direxisti sortem Apostolorum tuorum, quando cecidit sors super Mathiam. Immitte, Domine, spiritum veracem quem tu misisti per prophetam tuum qui vidit universum Israel dispersum sicut oves errantes in montibus. Expelle, Domine, spiritum fallacem quem tu misisti ad decipiendum Acab, quando cecidit cum omni exercitu suo. Dirige, Domine, sortem hanc quam mittam in nomine tuo per merita et orationes sanctorum angelorum tuorum qui sortes amicorum cunctorum regunt, ut haec sors veritatem nobis hujus rei inducat per te, Salvator mundi, qui vivis etc.

*Alia Oratio.*

Oremus ad te, Domine Pater, Rex coeli et terrae, qui es Creator omnium rerum creaturarum, qui cuncta ex nihilo omnia mundi creasti, et Abraham Patrem nostrum te daturum nobis jurasti, et Moysi in Monte Sinai legem dedisti, et Susannam de falso crimine liberasti, et Tobiam de contritione cordis in alacritate mutasti, et nurui suae de magna amaritudine cordis afflictæ et lachrymarum fonte tribuisti dulcedinem: qui exaudisti Ionam de ventre ceti, et deinde prostratum et jacentem et Petrum lachrymantem Domine suscepisti; suscipe, Domine, preces meas, ut de hac re quam peto per

## PROVENÇAL (OF ROCQUAIN).

1. Seguentre lo soleil ce levo las estelas, sol ar e ja so retornadas à lutz; enaisi lo teus coratgues, don iest vistz doptos, em breu termini am clardat venra autu (*sic*) de Dieu, e Dieus cera à tu en ajutori et auras aiso que cobezeias.

2. D' aiso que quers coceil sia fermes tos coratges, que puestras venir ad aiso que esperas.

3. Dieus ajudara à tu d' aiso que cobezeias; preguo Dieu e per-venra à ton desirier.

4. Aiso que quers venra à tu am gran gauh: estai segurs, preguia Dieu e non aias paor.

5. La tua destra esten al Paire lo teu Dieu; preguia et aura(s) concordia e bona esperansa.

6. De lutz te vols metre en tenebras, e garda te que non sias cosiros.

7. La via que tu quers es drecha. No vueilhas temer; Dieus er à tu en ajutori, et auras aiso que cobezeias e pervenras ad aquo que desiras.

8. Grans caussa es aiso que t' es veiaire et aras pasara, <sup>1</sup>e te, lacey! penedras t' en; quar aiso que demandas non er en tom poder.

## LATIN (OF PITHOEUS).

has sortes mihi notum facias, qui sciens es per omnia et in omnibus, qui in sancta et in perfecta Trinitate vivis et in unitate consistis, per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.

c. c. c. Post solem surgunt stellae, et iterum sol ad claram lucem revertitur, sic et animus tuus, unde dubius esse videris in brevi tempore ad claritatem pervenerit, et veniet tibi et obtinebis quod cupis Deo adjuvante, age ei gratias.

c. c. v. De quo consulis animus tuus sit sicut speras, ut possis pertingere ad quod desideras.

c. c. III. Deus te adjuvabit de quo cupis et de quo consulis: Deum roga, cito perveniet tibi quod desideras.

c. c. I. Quod postulas nunc ita veniet cum magno gaudio, securus esto, Deum roga, et noli timere.

c. c. III. Dexteram tuam porrige et habebis concordiam et spem bonam et pauperibus tribue.

c. c. II. De luce in tenebris mittere quaeris, ubi nulla directa est semita, et vita tua carere cupis; moneo te ne cures ab hoc consilio.

c. c. vv (*sic*). Est via certa quam tu petis, noli timere, Deus tibi in adjutorium erit, et pervenies ad quod desideras.

c. v. III. Magnum quod tibi videtur esse jam transit et quomodo volueris, nam hoc quod consulis in potestate tua non erit.

<sup>1</sup> La lecture des trois mots qui suivent...est assez difficile.

## PROVENÇAL (OF ROCQUAIN).

9. No vueilhas doptar d' aiso que demandas ; pregua Dieu ; bon es ; niens es aiso que temps.

10. De cervi coren cobezeias tener los corns, et el torna c' en e son jadis ; enaisi venra à tu s' o quers.

11. D' aiso que quers ni preguas estai cosiros ; am gran suzor et am gran trebail pervenras ad aquo que deziras.

12. Ap suaus paraulas te quero amenar ; per aiso depar te d' aquest coceil, que pueg no t' en penedas.

13. Aiso co lo naus e mar, quant es governada, sail e loc que desira ; enaisi lo teus cosiziers venra à tu em breu termini, ce preguas Dieu.

14. Lo teus vezis, qu' esta ben am tu, te quer amenar am suaus paraulas ; per aiso Dieus fara savia-ment, e veias la tua simpleza que alcuna caussa non endevengua à tu.

15. En aquest cosizier no sia fermes tos coratgues, quar vas es.

<sup>1</sup> ? l. suavis.

## LATIN (OF PITHOEUS).

c. v. III. Ne dubitaveris de quo consulis, Deum roga, bonum est quod petis, et noli timere.

c. v. II. Cervo currente cornua tenere cupisti manibus, sed difficile est, quia in silvis moratur, sed revertatur in cubili suo, et ibi capi potest : sic veniet tibi in manibus tuis in quo dubius es.

c. v. I. Qui petis et qui rogas, cum magno sudore et labore per-venies ad hoc quod desideras, securus esto, Deum roga.

c. III. III. Vicinus tuus cum ad te venerit, blandis sermonibus te inducere quaerit, tu vero caute agere debes, ne postea incipias poenitere.

c. III. III. Prava ne velis, saevis<sup>1</sup> sermonibus te decipere volunt qui te quaerunt, securus esto, ab hoc consilio, ne postea incipias poenitere.

c. III. II. (*sic*)<sup>2</sup>. Sicut navis in pelago gubernata fuerit, quod desideras ita tibi veniet. Si jam per-venias ad quod desideras, Deum tuum roga ut placatus sit tibi. Blandis sermonibus te decipere volunt, tu vero caute vide simplicitatem tuam, ne postea incipias poenitere.

Vide supra (c. III. III.)

c. III. I. In hoc cogitamento non est animus tuus firmus, quia

<sup>2</sup> l. c. III. II.

## PROVENÇAL (OF ROCQUAIN).

16. De la cauza que primeira-  
ment cosiras e quers coceil, d' aqui  
auras gran gloria.

17. Lo teus requeremens es  
agradables : d' aiso que quers si(a)  
ferms tos coratges ; ce preguas  
Dieu, venra à tu em breu termini.

18. Aiso que quers es ferm ;  
autra caussa cosira ; altra caussa  
venra à tu que non cosiras.

19. La tua via es apareilhada ;  
sias sufrens e pregua Dieu et per-  
venras à ton desirier.

20. Dizes que temps : li teu  
enemic cairau et...ceras meilhert.

21. Dizes que temps ; bon es ;  
aiso que quers es en tas mas.

22. Aisso que quers bon es ;  
amorossament<sup>2</sup> pervenras à ton  
dezirier.

## LATIN (OF PITHOEUS).

pravae sunt in pectore tuo cogita-  
tiones : sollicitus esse noli, et veniet  
tibi desiderium tuum bonum, quod  
animum tuum confirmet, securus  
esto.

c. III. III. De qua re primum  
cogitasti et consulis, tuus animus  
inde magis habebit gloriam.

c. III. II. Et si ni societatem ni  
filium non habent, non fiunt, sic et  
tuus animus cito consilium mu-  
tavit, sed ad nos venies. Placa  
Deum ut secutus<sup>1</sup> possis fieri.

c. III. I. Petitio tua accepta  
erit, cogitare noli, de quo consulis,  
perveniet tibi in brevi tempore.  
Ideoque Deum roga, et obtinebis  
quod cupis.

c. II. II. Via tibi parata est,  
patiens esto, Deum roga, et venies  
ad desiderium tuum.

c. II. I. Quod cogitasti firmum  
est, aliud cogita, ad lucrum per-  
veniet quod cupis.

Cf. c. II. II. supra.

c. I. I. Disce timere, inimici tui  
cadent, et adhuc melior eris.

Cf. v. v. II. infra.

v. v. v. De quo postulas bonum  
est, diligentius age, et pervenies ad  
desiderium tuum bonum.

v. v. III. Bonitas omnium qui  
querunt Deum, serva mandata Dei,  
et omnia tibi prospere fient.

<sup>1</sup> ? securus.

<sup>2</sup> diligentius translated as from diligo = amo.

## PROVENÇAL (OF ROCQUAIN).

23. Li qual te cuio nozer  
venceras, e pregua Dieu et acocegras  
la tua esperansa.

24. Enaisi la (ce)mena es  
cemenada e la bona terra et e so  
temps aporta frug, enaisi tu per-  
venras à la tua voluntat.

25. En la celva te vols metre  
ou non trobaras negu cemdier e  
motz serpens am gieien; per aiso  
sias mudatz e departitz d' aquest  
coceil.

26. Lo cas casan efantara lo(s)  
cadels sex [l. cecs], et enaisi aquo  
que quers lo teus coratge venra à  
tu de grat am gran gauh.

27. No vueilhas doptar d' aiso  
que demandas; pregua Dieu; bon  
es; nient es aiso que temps.

28. Masa de plum mescla(t)  
d' ur. Enaisi la causa quesit non  
er en tom poder: autra causa venra  
à tu que non esperas.

## LATIN (OF PITHOEUS).

v. v. III. Qui te nocere cupiunt  
vinces eos, spem tuam consequeris.  
Tu vero Deum tuum roga, ut in  
adjutorium sit tibi, et pervenies ad  
desiderium tuum bonum.

v. v. II. Quod postulas bonum  
est, de quo cogitas in manibus tuis  
erit.

v. v. I. Sicut seminator in  
terram bonam semen mittit, et  
fructum in tempore suo restituet,  
ita ad quod desideras laetus per-  
venies, et tuam voluntatem facile  
invenies.

v. III. III. In silvam te mittere  
quaeris, ubi nullam semitam in-  
venies, et multae serpentes validae  
latent, et ideo moneo te<sup>1</sup> vitam  
tuam decipiaris, dum non putas.

v. III. III. Canis festinando  
caecos catulos parit, sic et tuus  
animus. Improperare noli de quo  
postulas: si patiens fueris, veniet  
tibi ultro in potestate tua cum  
magno gaudio.

v. III. II. Massa plumbea auro  
mixta est, et est invidiosa, sic et  
tuus animus invidiam machinat:  
aliud namque cogita. Hoc quod  
petis in potestate tua non erit.

v. III. I. Adversarium te dicis  
habere, spem tuam dirige, ut tibi in  
adjutorium sit Deus. Moneo te ne  
velis esse irreligiosus.

<sup>1</sup> ? ne.



## PROVENÇAL (OF ROCQUAIN).

29. Eversamen cosiras; altra causa venra à tu que non cosirias, e per aiso estai saviament et veias la tua simpleza que altra caussa non endevenga à tu.

30. Autra causa cosira, e no sia ferms tos coratgues en aquest cosizier que vas es.

31. Li vent so suau; garda las tempestatz; no vueilhas metre en la mar; estai um pauc, e recebras aquo que quers.

32. D' aiso que quers ni demandas estai aperceubutz, e recebra(s) bonaventura e bona vita que dada es à tu.

33. Garda te del gran leo, que no t' puesco nozer; per aiso clama Dieu, e delivrar(a) te que<sup>1</sup> deseguentres non establiscas ta mor.

34. Aiso que non dona ans, tol sapdosamen us dias; no vueilhas esser cosiros, que venra à tu lo teus desiriers.

35. Am gran suzor et am gran trevail venra en tas mas aiso que quers; pregua Dieu e fai gen gratias.

36. Tres causas so per un home: III angils cosiro per te; la primieira causa de que cosiras auras am gauh.

## LATIN (OF PITHOEUS).

v. III. III. Aliud cogitas, aliud perveniet tibi, dum non speras. Ideo caute agere debes, et vide simplicitatem tuam, ne in damnum perducaris et detrimentum.

v. III. II. Venti sunt, validae tempestates sive procellae, cave ne te velis mittere in pelagum: sustine modicum, et accipies serenitatem, et perveniet ad quod desideras animus tuus.

v. III. I. Quae petis atque rogas, sollicitus esse noli, pervenies cum labore, et accipies fortunam bonam seu futura bona quae data sunt tibi.

v. II. II. Leonem magnum cave qui te nocere cupit. Ideo ad Dominum clama, et de malo liberabit te, ne post mortem restituas damnum.

v. II. I. Quod annus non dat, dies subditus<sup>2</sup> affert. Noli esse sollicitus, quia veniet tibi desiderium tuum bonum, quod recedet ad gaudium magnum.

v. I. I. Licet et ventum cum magno sudore et labore venire, tunc erit tibi in manibus tuis quod petisti: Deum roga, et refer ei gratias.

III. III. III. Tria sunt facta per hominem in hoc saeculo: tres autem angeli temperant illa, primumque invenies gaudium cum

<sup>1</sup> Cod. e delivrat caque.

<sup>2</sup> l. subitus.

## PROVENÇAL (OF ROCQUAIN).

37. En aquesta hora t' en torna ; la sortz non respon à tu ; d' autre dia torna, e dira à tu vertat.

38. Bo so li teu do que tu quesist ; mos (*sic*) no l's recebras, que no so donah à tu.

39. Quant er temps, t' apropja al loc : nient as que cemenes<sup>1</sup>.

40. Niens es que temias ; lo Senhor t' ajudara, que puescas esse segurs ; e auras clardat, e no vueilhas laisar Dieu.

41. Grans gauh venra à tu d' aiso que quers ni demandas ; tos enemix venceras, e Dieus er en ajutori à tu, et auras aiso que cobezeias.

42. Per que causiguas contra l' agulho ? No vueilhas gabar, que mal es, e tu no vueilhas anar contra l's sortz.

43. Aiso que tu quers ja es aparalhatz à tu, e niens es que temias ; sias cosiros, e Dieus ajudara te.

44. Quar te venguist acocelhar am nos ? Ieu pregui Dieu que perdo à tu, que fortment iest [l. es] iratz.

## LATIN (OF PITHOEUS).

laetitia. Secundo de abundantia rerum temporalium. Tertio de laetitia, et in itinere tuo accipies gaudium.

III. III. III. Tu hac hora recede a nobis, quia sortes meae non dant responsa : alia die venies et observa conditionem tuam.

III. III. II. Dum tempus accipies, nihilque pharis (*sic*), bona sunt tua data.

III. III. I. Nihilque est quod timeas, Deus adjuvabit tibi, ut possis securus esse, et in breve tempus lucrum invenies, et tenebis quod cupis, et habebis claritatem : noli timere.

III. III. III. Gaudium magnum de quo petis veniet tibi, et protegat te Deus : inimicos tuos vinces, quia Deus tibi in adjutorium erit ; securus esto ; spem tuam recipies.

III. III. II. Quid calcas contra stimulum ? jactare noli temetipsum, quia malum est de quo consulis. Contra sortes noli ire. Moneo te ne velis esse contrarius Deo.

III. III. I. Quid venisti consulere ? Deum tuum neglexisti, multum promisisti, et non implevisti : primitus placa Deum, ut propitius sit tibi, quia valde iratus est, et sic veniet ad te.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps a misreading of the next sentence.

## PROVENÇAL (OF ROCQUAIN).

45. Lo desirie que tu cobezeias auras; pregua Dieu et à lui fai gracias.

46. Fortuna promet à tu aquo que as en ton còr; so paraulas que m' pacho à tu.

47. Tu cuias isausar la tua vita seguentre la mort; sias sufrens; pregua Dieu.

48. Aiso so sortz que adubertament respondo à tu; no t' vueilhas trigar mas plus qu' en [l. quer] la gloria Dieu, que bon requeremen pervengua à tu.

49. Fel e vinagre desiras, veras qual te plus leu; quar aiso que tu quers non es dat à tu.

50. Aiso en que iest doptos, niens es que temias; pregua Dieu et caras plus fortz.

51. Per que iest doptos? niens es que temias; suefri te um pauc, et trobaras bon tems.

## LATIN (OF PITHOEUS).

III. II. II. Votum quod cupis obtinebis, Deum roga, ut ipse sit tibi in auxilium: patiens esto; noli dubitare quod consulis. Securus esto, veniet tibi, Deo adjuvante, quod desideras.

III. II. I. Tibi fortuna quae promittitur in terra est, et sermones qui te impediunt, nec pertinges ad quod desideras.

III. I. I. Exultans te praecipitare cupis, et quaeris vita tua carere, sed modo tempus non permittit: patiens esto, et Deum roga, ut petitionibus tuis misericordiam merearis.

III. III. III. Hae sunt sortes quae manifeste respondent interrogantibus, et abscondita hominum patefaciunt. Ideo te moneo ne moras facias interrogare necessaria, sed magis pete gloriam Deo, ut petitiones animi tui invenias.

III. III. II. Mel tenes et acetum desideras. Vide bonum quod lenius est: nam quod petis non est tibi datum.

III. III. I. In quo speras pisces latent et tu laetus capies eos: sic animus tuus dubius esse videtur et tamen facile dono Dei accipies, si Deum rogaveris.

III. II. II. Quod sollicitus esse videris, et undis maris navigare quaeris, vide, et sustine, in brevi tempore invenies et pertinges ad quod desideras.

## PROVENÇAL (OF ROCQUAIN).

52. Grans gauh er à tu ; (d')  
aiso que quers non aias cosizier ;  
mos (*sic*) estai cegurs.

53. Intramens es apareilhatz à  
tu per que iest doptos ; la tua  
esperansa acoceguda ; pregua Dieu  
que sia à tu en ajutori, et auras so  
que deziras.

54. Aiso que quers non er en  
tom poder em breu termini ; estai  
et atrobaras melho(r) acabament.

55. Aver quers ; lo loc es  
perilhos ; cel<sup>2</sup> ton coceil ; estai  
saviament.

56. Sias fizels jace en totas  
cauzas, e Dieu dara à tu en totas  
caussas.

57. Aiso las sortz dels sanhs  
apostol(s) que ja non falirau : per  
aiso pregua Dieu, e auras so que  
cobezeias.

## LATIN (OF PITHOEUS).

III. II. I. Gaudium magnum  
veniet tibi, de quo petis, noli cogi-  
tare, securus esto, roga Deum et  
invenies gratiam.

III. II (*sic*)<sup>1</sup>. Jam tibi introitus  
est paratus, et aperta janua potes  
introidre ad quod desideras, ubi  
hortare vel spem tuam, ora Deum,  
ut adjutor sit tibi.

II. II. II. Pecuniam tuam ad  
lucrum mittere quaeris, vide ne ad  
damnum perveniat tibi : iste locus  
periculosus est, utere consilio, sa-  
pientem fatigare cave.

II. II. I. Quod in potestate tua  
non est tantum quaeris, sed breve  
tempus sustine, et meliorem in-  
venies conditionem tuam.

Vide II. II. II. supra.

II. II (*sic*)<sup>3</sup>. Fidelis esto in  
perpetuum, et quicquid petieris,  
Deus omne tibi praeſtabit, et foelix  
eris in aevum si obtemperaveris  
mandatis Dei.

I. I. I. Hae sunt sortes sanc-  
torum quae nunquam falluntur nec  
mentiuntur ; id est, Deum roga et  
obtenebis quod cupis. Age ei  
gratias.

As we pointed out above, there are only 56 Sortes that properly belong to the system. The last pair of sentences is not a Sors, but a repetition of the opening sentences on the Latin side. Perhaps the concluding clauses (Deum roga etc.) may be a genuine *Sors*. If so, there is a wrong subdivision somewhere in what precedes.

<sup>1</sup> I. III. I. I.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. *cei*.

<sup>3</sup> I. II. I. I.

The preceding system of Sortes is full of interest, not only on account of the light it throws upon the arrangement of systems of Sortes and upon their religious use, but also for the sake of the specimen of early Provençal which it furnishes. This last is made direct from the Latin, and very nearly from the Latin of Pitheous. Yet, as we have pointed out above, the Latin itself is probably made from a Greek base.

## APPENDIX C.

### *The Sortes of Astrampsychus.*

The system, which we have explained above, consists of 92 groups of oracles, containing 10 answers in each. A prefixed table shows how to correct the displaced answers in the separate groups, so that they shall stand in groups, with all the answers to any given question arranged under that question. See the analysis which we have given. In some of the MSS. which transmit the oracles to us, this auxiliary table is given, not only in a bicolumnar table of the relation of the displaced answers to their proper positions, indicated in two columns of figures in red and black, but by a subordinate table, in which every number in one column is attached to a scripture name and every number in the other to its interpretation, thus forming a series of secondary oracles, which can be taken *en route* to the general solution. We may compare the way in which the oracles in the Pamphylian system are placed under the patronage of gods and demi-gods. We thus have not only a table

$\iota\gamma = \kappa$   
 $\iota\delta = \rho\alpha$   
 $\iota\epsilon = \mu\delta$

etc., as printed above,

but also

$\iota\gamma$	θεοῦ κράτος	$\kappa$	—
$\iota\delta$	Ἀδάμ	$\rho\alpha$	—
$\iota\epsilon$	Εὐά	$\mu\delta$	ζωὴ ἡ δυστυχία
$\iota\zeta$	Δούδ	$\vartheta\eta$	—
$\iota\eta$	Ἀξουρᾶ	$\iota\theta$	βοήθεια θεοῦ
	&c.		&c.

The complete list can be seen in Hercher.

The following is the table given for the luck of the moon :

ἡμέρας	α	πρωΐας	ια	δείλῃς
	β	δείλῃς	ιβ	δείλῃς
	γ	μὴ χρῶ	ιγ	πρωΐας
	δ	δι' ὅλῃς τῆς ἡμέρας	ιδ	δείλῃς
	ε	μὴ χρῶ	ιε	πρωΐας
	ς	δι' ὅλῃς τῆς ἡμέρας	ισ	ῥα τρίτῃ
	ζ	πρωΐας	ιζ	δείλῃς
	η	μὴ χρῶ	ιη	ῥα τρίτῃ
	θ	δείλῃς	ιθ	μὴ χρῶ
	ι	δείλῃς	κ	μὴ χρῶ
		κα	πρωΐας	
		κβ	πρωΐας	
		κγ	δείλῃς	
		κδ	μὴ χρῶ	
		κε	δείλῃς	
		ς	δείλῃς	
		κζ	μὴ χρῶ	
		κη	δείλῃς	
		κθ	δείλῃς	
		λ	δείλῃς	

Supposing the enquirer to have safely evaded the perils of the planets and the moon, as explained in the text and in this table, the following is the series of questions and answers which he will have access to :

Ἀρχὴ τῶν ζητημάτων

ιβ	εἰ πλεύσω ἀκινδύνως
ιγ	εἰ ἔστιν ὥρα τοῦ ἐπιβαλέσθαι τῷ χρησμῷ
ιδ	εἰ στρατεύσομαι
ιε	εἰ κοινωνήσω τῷ πράγματι
ισ	εἰ προκόψω ἐν τιμῇ
ιζ	εἰ ἀποδημήσω
ιη	εἰ συναλλάξαι συμφέρει μοι
ιθ	εἰ εὐτυχῆς εἰμι
κ	εἰ ἀγοράσω τὸ προκείμενον
κα	εἰ γαμήσω καὶ συμφέρει μοι
κβ	εἰ ἔξω βλαβῆναι ἐν τῷ πράγματι
κγ	εἰ κινηθήσομαι τοῦ τόπου μου
κδ	εἰ τέξεταί μου ἡ γυνή
κε	εἰ εὐρήσω δανείσασθαι ἄρτι
ς	εἰ ἀποδώσω ἃ ὀφείλω
κζ	εἰ ἐλεύσεται ὁ ἀπόδημος



κη	εἰ δώσω τοὺς λόγους μου ἄρτι
κθ	εἰ σωθήσομαι κατηγορούμενος
λ	εἰ τὸ γεννώμενον θρέψω
λα	εἰ ὑβρισθήσομαι ἐν τῷ πράγματι
λβ	εἰ ἀπαλλαγῇσομαι τῆς δουλείας
λγ	εἰ κληρονομήσω τὸν πατέρα
λδ	εἰ κληρονομήσω τὴν μητέρα
λε	εἰ ἄρξω ἐν τῷ πράγματι
λς	εἰ εὐρήσω τὸν φυγόντα
λζ	εἰ ἔξω ἐσχάτην καλὴν
λη	εἰ κληρονομήσω τὸν φίλον
λθ	εἰ ἀγορανομήσω
μ	εἰ εὐρήσω το ἀπολλόμενον
μα	εἰ σοφιστεύσω
μβ	εἰ σωθήσομαι ἀσθενῶν
μγ	εἰ ἀνοίξω ἐργαστήριον
μδ	εἰ ἔξω χρόνον ζωῆς
με	εἰ ἐπιτεύξομαι γραμμάτων
μς	εἰ καταλλαγῇσομαι τοῖς κυρίοις
μζ	εἰ τεκνώσω
μη	εἰ κληρονομήσω τοὺς γονεῖς
μβ	εἰ λήψομαι τὴν φερνὴν
ν	εἰ παραμενεῖ μοι τὰ ὑπάρχοντα
να	εἰ νικήσω ἢν ἔχω δίκην
νβ	εἰ κληρονομήσω τὴν γυναῖκα
νγ	εἰ συκοφαντούμενος σωθήσομαι
νδ	εἰ ὁ ἀσθενῶν σωθήσεται
νε	εἰ λήψομαι ἢν θέλω γυναῖκα
νς	εἰ συνεχόμενος ἀπολυθήσομαι
νζ	εἰ πωλήσω τὸν φόρτον
νη	εἰ δανείσας οὐκ ἀπολέσω
νθ	εἰ ἐκτρώσει μου ἡ γυνή
ξ	εἰ οἰκονομήσω
ξα	εἰ μισθώσομαι καὶ συμφέρει μοι
ξβ	εἰ κληρονομήσω τὸ πρόσωπον
ξγ	εἰ νικήσω τὸν ἀντίδικον
ξδ	εἰ θεάσομαι θάνατον τέκνου
ξε	εἰ στρατηγήσω
ξς	εἰ γενήσομαι κληρικός
ξζ	εἰ ἐπιτεύξομαι τῆς ἐπικλήσεως
ξη	εἰ ἔξω ἐλπίδα πίστεως
ξθ	εἰ θεὸς παραβόλιον νικήσω
ο	εἰ γαμήσω τὴν φίλην
οα	εἰ ἀπολήψομαι τὴν παρακαταθήκην
οβ	εἰ λήψομαι ὀψώνιον

ογ	εἰ μενῶ ὅπου ὑπάγω
οδ	εἰ πωληθήσομαι
οε	εἰ ἔξω ὄφελος ἀπὸ τοῦ φίλου
ος	εἰ δοθήσεται μοι ἐτέρῳ συναλλάξαι
οζ	εἰ ἀποκαταστήσομαι εἰς τὸν τόπον μου
οη	εἰ λήψομαι κομητάτον
οθ	εἰ λήψομαι τὸ ἀργύριον
π	εἰ ζῇ ὁ ἀπόδημος
πα	εἰ κερδανῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος
πβ	εἰ προσγραφήσεται τὰ ἐμά
πγ	εἰ εὐρήσω πωλῆσαι
πδ	εἰ δυνήσομαι ἀγοράσαι ὁ ἐνθυμούμαι
πε	εἰ γενήσομαι βιοπράγος
πς	εἰ φυγαδευθήσομαι
πζ	εἰ πρεσβεύσω τὰ πρὸς θεόν
πη	εἰ γενήσομαι βουλευτής
πθ	εἰ λᾶθος ἔσται μοι τῷ δρασμῷ
ρ	εἰ ἀπαλλαγῇσομαι τῆς γυναικός
ρα	εἰ πεφαρμάκευμαι
ρβ	εἰ λήψομαι λεγάτον
ργ	εἰ ὁ ἐπιβάλλομαι ἀπαρτίσω
ρδ	εἰ θεάσομαι τὴν πατρίδα
ρε	εἰ γενήσομαι δεκάπρωτος
ρς	εἰ ἀπαλλαγῇσομαι τοῦ κλήρου
ρζ	εἰ παραμενεῖ μοι ἡ γυνή
ρη	εἰ παραμενῶ πρεσβύτερος
ρθ	εἰ ἀγοράσω χωρίον ἢ οἰκίαν
ρ	εἰ καταληφθήσομαι μοιχὸς ἄρτι
ρα	εἰ γενήσομαι ἐπίσκοπος
ρβ	εἰ ἀπαλλαγῇσομαι τῆς φίλης
ργ	εἰ ὁ συνεχόμενος ἀπολυθήσεται

## Ἀρχὴ τῶν δεκάδων

## δεκάς α'

α	οὐχ ἔξεις ἐλπίδα πίστεως
β	οὐκ ἐπιτεύξῃ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως ἄρτι
γ	κατασταθήσῃ κληρικός, βραδέως δέ
δ	στρατηγήσεις καὶ εὐημερήσεις καὶ δοξασθήσῃ
ε	ἔξεις θάνατον ἰδεῖν καὶ χαρῆναι ἄρτι
ς	νικήσεις· ἀγώνισαι
ζ	κληρονομήσεις μετὰ δίκης
η	ἐὰν μισθώσῃ, βλαβήσῃ πολύ
θ	οἰκονομήσεις μέν, φθονηθήσῃ δὲ παρ' ὁτιοῦν
ι	ἐκτρώσει μετὰ κινδύνου, πλὴν σωθήσεται

## δεκάς β'

- α ἀπαλλαγῆσθαι τῆς φιλίας σου  
 β οὐχ ἔξεις τύχην ἐπισκοπεῦσαι· μὴ ἔλπιζε  
 γ μοιχοῦ γένεσιν ἔξεις σαπράν  
 δ ἀγοράσεις ὃ θέλεις χωρίον ἢ οἰκίαν  
 ε παραμένεις πρεσβύτερος ἕως θανάτου  
 ς οὐ παραμένει σοι ἡ γυνή· ἄλλην γαμήσεις  
 ζ ἀπαλλαγῆσθαι τοῦ κλήρου θελήσας  
 η γενήσθαι δεκάπρωτος ταχέως  
 θ ἔξεις τὴν πατρίδα ἰδεῖν μετὰ χρόνου  
 ι οὐκ ἀπαρτίσεις ὃ ἐνθύμη· μὴ προσδόκα

## δεκάς γ'

- α οὐκ ἐλευθερωθήσθαι ἄρτι  
 β ὑβρισθήσθαι οὐ πάνυ δέ· μὴ λυποῦ  
 γ σωθήσεται τὸ γεννηθὲν μετὰ κόπου  
 δ οὐ σωθήσθαι τῆς κατηγορίας ἄρτι· μερίμνα  
 ε δώσεις ἄρτι τοὺς λόγους σου ἐπὶ τὸ συμφέρον  
 ς ἐλεύσεται ὁ ἀπόδημος ὑγαίνων  
 ζ ἀποδώσεις ἄρτι ἃ ὀφείλεις καὶ χαρήσθαι  
 η οὐχ εὐρήσεις ἄρτι δανείσασθαι παρ' οὐ ἐλπίζεις  
 θ τέξεται καὶ κινδυνεύσει ἕως θανάτου  
 ι οὐ κινήσθαι τοῦ τόπου σου ἄρτι· μὴ φοβοῦ

## δεκάς δ'

- α οὐχ ἔξεις ἐσχάτην καλήν  
 β οὐχ εὐρήσεις τὸν φυγόντα νῦν  
 γ ἄρξεις καὶ εὐημερήσεις  
 δ κληρονομήσεις τὴν μητέρα  
 ε κληρονομήσεις τὸν πατέρα  
 ς οὐκ ἐλευθερωθήσθαι ἄρτι· μὴ προσδόκα  
 ζ μέχρι λόγων ὑβρισθήσθαι  
 η τραφήσεται τὸ γεννηθὲν  
 θ οὐ σωθήσθαι τῆς κατηγορίας  
 ι δώσεις τοὺς λόγους σου βραδέως

## δεκάς ε'

- α οὐ συμφέρει σοι ἄρτι τεκνῶσαι  
 β οὐ καταλλαγῆσθαι τοῖς κυρίοις νῦν  
 γ δὸς τὰ γράμματα· ἐπιτεύξῃ  
 δ ἔξεις χρόνον ζωῆς καλόν  
 ε ἄνοιξον ἐργαστήριον· ὠφέλιμον γάρ  
 ς σωθήσθαι τῆς ἀσθενείας, βραδέως δέ

- ζ σοφιστεύσεις ἐπὶ ξένης καὶ πλουτήσεις  
 η οὐχ εὐρήσεις τὸ ἀπολόμενον νῦν  
 θ ἀγορανομήσεις, ἄρτι δὲ οὐ  
 ι οὐ κληρονομήσεις τὸν φίλον· προλειφθήσῃ γάρ

## δεκάς 5'

- α οὐ κληρονομήσεις  
 β μίσθωσαι· κερδανείς γάρ πολύ  
 γ οἰκονομήσεις καλῶς καὶ δοξασθήσῃ  
 δ τῇ ἐρχομένη γαστρὶ κρατήσῃ  
 ε μὴ δανείσης ἐπεὶ ἀπολείς  
 ς οὐ πωλήσεις τὸν φόρτον ἄρτι  
 ζ ἀπολυθήσῃ τῆς συνοχῆς νῦν  
 η λήψῃ ἣν θέλεις γυνάικα καὶ μεταμεληθήσῃ  
 θ ὁ ἀσθενῶν κινδυνεύσει  
 ι σωθήσῃ τῆς συκοφαντίας διὰ φίλου

## δεκάς ζ'

- α ἐπιτεύξῃ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως  
 β οὐ κατασταθήσῃ κληρικός  
 γ στρατηγήσεις καὶ κινδυνεύσεις  
 δ οὐχ ἔξεις θάνατον ἰδεῖν νῦν  
 ε νικήσεις ἄρτι· ἀγωνίζου χαίρων  
 ς κληρονομήσεις, οὐ πάντα δέ  
 ζ μὴ μισθώσῃ ἄρτι· οὐ γὰρ συμφέρει σοι  
 η οἰκονομήσεις νῦν καὶ δοξασθήσῃ  
 θ οὐκ ἐκτρώσει ἡ γυνή· μὴ φρόντιζε  
 ι ἐὰν δανείσης, ἐπὶ ὑποθήκῃ δάνεισον

## δεκάς η'

- α οὐκ ἀγοράσεις τὸ προκείμενον  
 β εὐτυχήσεις ἐπ' ἐσχάτων μακρὰν γεράσας  
 γ συναλλάξας κερδανείς πολύ  
 δ μὴ ἀποδημήσης· οὐ γὰρ συμφέρει σοι  
 ε προκόψῃς μετὰ χρόνου καθὼς ἐπιθυμείς  
 ς κοινωνήσεις καὶ ἀμαρτήσῃ  
 ζ ἐὰν στρατεύσῃ, μεταμεληθήσῃ  
 η οὐκ ἔχεις ὦραν τοῦ ἐπερωτήσῃ  
 θ ἐὰν πλεύσῃς ἄρτι, κινδυνεύσεις  
 ι ὁ συνεχόμενος χρόνῳ ἀπολυθήσεται

## δεκάς θ'

- α οὐχ ἁμαρτήσεις· πρέσβευσον  
 β οὐ φυγαδευθήσῃ, ὑβρισθήσῃ δὲ μετρίως  
 γ οὐ γενήσῃ ποτὲ βιοπράγος  
 δ ἀγοράσεις ὁ ἐνθυμῇ καὶ πωλήσεις φυράσας  
 ε εἰς ἄρτι πωλήσεις, βλαβήσῃ  
 ς οὐ προσγραφήσεται τὰ σά· μὴ φοβοῦ  
 ζ κερδανείς ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος ὀλίγον  
 η οὐ ζῇ ὁ ἀπόδημος· ἐφαρμακεύθη γάρ  
 θ λήψῃ τὸ ἀργύριον κόπῳ πολλῷ  
 ι λήψῃ κομητάτου ἄρτι

## δεκάς ι'

- α σωθήσεται ἀπὸ τῆς ἀσθενείας ἄρτι  
 β οὐ σωθήσῃ τῆς συκοφαντίας· περίτρεχε  
 γ οὐ κληρονομήσεις τὴν γυναῖκα· προτελευτήσεις γάρ  
 δ μὴ λέγε τὴν δίκην ἄρτι· ἡττηθήσῃ γάρ  
 ε οὐ παραμενεῖ σοι πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα  
 ς λήψῃ τὴν φερνὴν βραδέως  
 ζ κληρονομήσεις τοὺς γονεῖς σου, οὐ μόνος δέ  
 η τεκνώσεις καὶ θρέψεις καὶ θάψεις  
 θ καταλλαγῇσῃ τοῖς κυρίοις καμάτων  
 ι δώσεις τὰ γράμματα καὶ ὠφελήσῃ

## δεκάς ια'

- α οὐ κληρονομήσεις τὴν γυναῖκα  
 β λέγε τὴν δίκην ἄρτι· νικήσεις γάρ  
 γ παραμενεῖ σοι τὰ ὑπάρχοντα πάντα  
 δ οὐ λήψῃ τὴν φερνὴν ἄρτι  
 ε κληρονομήσεις τοὺς γονεῖς οὐκ εἰς μακράν  
 ς τεκνώσεις, λυπηθήσῃ δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς  
 ζ οὐ καταλλαγῇσῃ τοῖς κυρίοις σου νῦν  
 η οὐκ ἐπιτεύξῃ γραμμάτων ἄρτι  
 θ μεσοχρόνιος εἶ· μὴ λυποῦ, ἀλλ' εὖχου  
 ι ἀνοίξεις ἐργαστήριον μετὰ μάχης

## δεκάς ιβ'

- α πεφαρμάκευσαι· σεαυτῷ βοήθει  
 β οὐκ ἀπαλλαγῇσῃ τῆς γυναικὸς ἕως θανάτου  
 γ λήσεται σου ὁ δρασμός νῦν  
 δ γενήσῃ βουλευτής, ἄρτι δὲ οὐ  
 ε οὐ πρεσβεύσεις μόνος· μὴ ἔλπιζε  
 ς οὐ φυγαδευθήσῃ· μὴ φοβοῦ

ζ οὐ γενήσῃ βιοπράγος τελείως  
 η οὐκ ἀγοράσεις ἄρτι ὃ ἐνθυμῇ  
 θ πωλήσεις πλὴν ἐπὶ βλάβῃ  
 ι οὐ προσγραφῆσεται τὰ σά· μὴ φοβοῦ

## δεκάς ιγ'

α ἀλάθτος ἔσται σου ὁ δρασμὸς  
 β γενήσῃ βουλευτὴς μετὰ δανείου  
 γ πρεσβεύσεις μόνος καὶ ὠφελήσῃ  
 δ φυγαδευθήσῃ πρὸς χρόνον καὶ κερδανεῖς  
 ε οὐ γενήσῃ βιοπράγος  
 ς οὐκ ἀγοράσεις ἄρτι· μὴ ἐνθυμοῦ  
 ζ οὐχ εὐρήσεις ἄρτι πωλῆσαι  
 η οὐ προσγραφῆσεται ἄρτι τὰ σά· μὴ ἀγωνία  
 θ κερδανεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος ὀλίγον  
 ι ζῇ ὁ ἀπόδημος καὶ ὑγαίνει· χρονίσει δέ

## δεκάς ιδ'

α οὐκ ἀποκατασταθήσῃ εἰς τὸν τόπον σου  
 β οὐ δοθήσεται σοι συναλλάξαι ἐτέρῳ  
 γ ὠφελήσῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος τοῦ φίλου σου  
 δ πωληθήσῃ μέν, ἄρτι δέ οὐ  
 ε οὐ μενεῖς ὅπου ὑπάγεις  
 ς λήψῃ ὀψώνιον, ἄρτι δέ οὐ  
 ζ ἀπολήψῃ τὴν παρακαταθήκην  
 η εἰς γήμης τὴν φίλην, βλαβήσῃ  
 θ θεὸς παραβόλιον· νικήσεις γάρ  
 ι οὐχ ἔξεις ἐλπίδα πίστεως

## δεκάς ιε'

α οὐκ ἀποδώσεις ἃ ὀφείλεις  
 β οὐ δανείσῃ ἐπὶ ὑπόθηκῃ  
 γ τέξεται καὶ τὸ γεννώμενον σωθήσεται  
 δ κινηθήσῃ τοῦ τόπου σου ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον  
 ε βλαβήσῃ, ὀλίγον δέ  
 ς γαμήσεις μέν, λύσεις δέ τὸν γάμον  
 ζ ἀγοράσεις τὸ προκείμενον καὶ βλαβήσῃ  
 η ὀψίτυχος εἶ· μὴ ἀγωνία  
 θ συναλλάξεις ταχέως καὶ κερδανεῖς  
 ι ἀποδημήσεις ἐξαπίνης ἐπὶ καλῶ

## δεκάς ις'

α οὐχ ἔξεις γένεσιν ἐπισκόπου  
 β καταληφθήσῃ ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ νῦν  
 γ ἀγοράσεις ἀγρὸν ὃν θέλεις ἢ οἰκίαν  
 δ παραμενεῖς πρεσβύτερος ἕως γήρως  
 ε οὐ παραμενεῖ σοι ἡ γυνή· μοιχευθήσεται γάρ  
 ς ἀπαλλαγῇ τοῦ κλήρου μετὰ μάχης  
 ζ γενήσῃ δεκάπρωτος ταχέως  
 η ἔξεις τὴν πατρίδα ἰδεῖν ἐπὶ καλῶ  
 θ ἀπαρτίσεις ὃ ἐπιβάλλῃ ταχέως  
 ι οὐ λήψῃ λεγάτον· διαβληθήσῃ γάρ

## δεκάς ιζ'

■ οὐκ ἀπολήψῃ τὴν παρακαταθήκην  
 β οὐ γαμήσεις τὴν φίλῃν· πεπόρνευκε γάρ  
 γ μὴ θῆς παραβόλιον· νικηθήσῃ γάρ  
 δ ἔξεις ἐλπίδα πίστεως καλὴν  
 ε ἐπιτεύξῃ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως  
 ς κατασταθήσῃ κληρικός  
 ζ οὐ συμφέρει σοι στρατηγῆσαι  
 η ὄψῃ θάνατον ἐπικερδῇ  
 θ νικήσεις· ἀγωνίζου ἕως τέλους  
 ι κληρονομήσεις ταχέως

## δεκάς ιη'

α οὐχ εὐρήσεις δανείσασθαι  
 β τέξεται καλὸν καὶ καλῶς  
 γ οὐ κινήσῃ τοῦ τόπου σου ἄρτι  
 δ οὐ βλαβήσῃ· μὴ ἀγωνία  
 ε γαμήσεις καὶ λύσεις τὸν γάμον ζηλοτυπήσας  
 ς ἀγοράσεις τὸ προκείμενον ἐν τάχει  
 ζ εὐτυχήσεις ἐξ ἰδίων κόπων  
 η οὐ συναλλάξεις ἄρτι οὐδενί  
 θ οὐκ ἀποδημήσεις νῦν· περίμεινον  
 ι προκόψῃς ἐπὶ καλῶ καὶ δοξασθήσῃ

## δεκάς ιθ'

α οὐ προκόψῃς ἄρτι  
 β κοινωνήσεις καλῶς καὶ ὠφελήσῃ  
 γ στρατεύσῃ μετὰ κόπου καὶ μεταμεληθήσῃ  
 δ μὴ ἐρώτα· ἐναντία ἐστὶν ἡ ἡμέρα  
 ε πλεύσεις μετὰ τὸ ἐγκοπῆναι  
 ς ὁ συνεχόμενος ἀπολυθήσεται τῆς συνοχῆς



ζ ἀπαλλαγῆσθαι τῆς φίλης μετὰ βίας  
 η γενήσθαι ἐπίσκοπος καὶ ὠφεληθήσθαι  
 θ καταληφθήσθαι ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ· πρόσεχε  
 ι οὐκ ἀγοράσεις τὸ κτῆμα νῦν

## δεκάς κ'

α οὐ πλεῖσεις καλῶς  
 β ὁ συνεχόμενος ἀπολυθήσεται  
 γ ἀπαλλαγῆσθαι τῆς φίλης ὅτε οὐκ ἐλπίζεις  
 δ γενήσθαι ἐπίσκοπος ὅτε οὐκ ἐλπίζεις  
 ε καταληφθήσθαι ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ νῦν  
 ς οὐκ ἀγοράσεις χωρίον νῦν  
 ζ παραμενεῖς πρεσβύτερος ἕως γήρως  
 η οὐ παραμενεῖ σοι ἡ γυνή· γαμηθήσεται ἑτέρῳ  
 θ ἀπαλλαγῆσθαι τοῦ κλήρου καὶ ὠφεληθήσθαι πολὺ  
 ι γενήσθαι δεκάπρωτος ὅτε οὐκ οἶδας

## δεκάς κα'

α οὐχ εὐρήσεις τὸ ἀπολόμενον  
 β οὐκ ἀγορανομήσεις ἄρτι· περίμεινον  
 γ κληρονομήσεις τὸν φίλον μετὰ δίκης  
 δ οὐχ ἔξεις ἐσχάτην καλὴν· ἐπαιτησαί σοι ἀπόκειται  
 ε οὐχ εὐρήσεις τὸν φυγόντα νῦν, μετὰ χρόνου δέ  
 ς ἄρξεις καὶ εὐδοκιμήσεις καὶ δοξασθήσθαι  
 ζ κληρονομήσεις τὴν μητέρα ἐξ ἡμισείας  
 η οὐ κληρονομήσεις τὸν πατέρα· προτελευτήσεις γάρ  
 θ οὐκ ἐλευθερωθήσθαι νῦν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ χρόνου  
 ι ὑβρισθήσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα, ἄρτι δὲ οὐ

## δεκάς κβ'

α λήψῃ ὀψώνιον  
 β οὐκ ἀπολήψῃ τὴν παρακαταθήκην  
 γ οὐ δυνήσῃ γῆμαι τὴν φίλην  
 δ θεὸς παραβόλιον· νικήσεις γάρ  
 ε ἔξεις ἐλπίδα πίστεως καλὴν  
 ς ἐπιτεύξῃ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως  
 ζ κατασταθήσθαι κληρικός, βραδέως δέ  
 η στρατηγῆσεις καὶ εὐμερήσεις καὶ δοξασθήσθαι  
 θ θεάσθαι δύο θανάτους ἀκερδεῖς  
 ι οὐ νικήσεις τέως· μὴ φρόντιζε

## δεκάς κγ'

- α οὐ δυνήσῃ σοφιστεῦσαι  
 β οὐχ εὐρήσεις τὸ ἀπολόμενον ἄρτι  
 γ ἀγορανομήσεις ἄρτι  
 δ οὐ κληρονομήσεις τὸν φίλον· μὴ ἔλπιζε  
 ε ἕξεις ἐσχάτην καλὴν  
 ς οὐχ εὐρήσεις τὸν φυγόντα· ἔπλευσε γάρ  
 ζ ἄρχοντος γένεσιν ἕξεις  
 η οὐ κληρονομήσεις τὴν μητέρα· προτελευτήσεις γάρ  
 θ κληρονομήσεις τὸν πατέρα τρίτην μοῖραν  
 ι οὐκ ἐλευθερωθήσῃ· σιώπα

## δεκάς κδ'

- α βλαβήσῃ μεγάλως  
 β γαμήσεις καὶ μεταμεληθήσῃ μηδὲν ὠφελῶν  
 γ ἀγοράσεις τὸ προκείμενον, εἴαν θέλῃς  
 δ εὐτυχήσεις ἐξ ἀλλοτρίων κληρονομήσας  
 ε συναλλάξεις καὶ ὠφεληθήσῃ πολλά  
 ς ἀποδημήσεις καὶ μεταμεληθήσῃ  
 ζ προκόψεις ἐξ ἀνελπίστων  
 η οὐ συμφέρει σοι κοινωνῆσαι· ζημιωθήσῃ γάρ  
 θ στρατεύσῃ καὶ ταχὺ προκόψεις  
 ι σήμερον καρτέρησον καὶ αὔριον ἐρώτησον

## δεκάς κε'

- α οὐχ ἕξεις τὴν πατρίδα ἰδεῖν  
 β οὐκ ἀπαρτίσεις ὃ ἐπιβάλλῃ  
 γ λήψῃ λεγάτον, ὀλίγον δέ  
 δ οὐ πεφαρμάκευσαι, ἀλλὰ μεμάγευσαι  
 ε ἀπαλλαγῇ τῆς γυναικὸς γελῶμενος  
 ς λήσεται σου ὁ δρασμὸς πρὸς ὀλίγον  
 ζ γενήσῃ βουλευτῆς καὶ φυρατῆς  
 η πρεσβεύσεις καὶ εὐημερήσεις, εἴαν σπεύσῃς  
 θ οὐ φυγαδευθήσῃ τὸ σύνολον· μὴ φοβοῦ  
 ι γενήσῃ βιοπράγος καὶ δοξασθήσῃ

## δεκάς κς'

- α ἀγοράσεις ὃ ἐνθυμῇ  
 β οὐχ εὐρήσεις ἄρτι πωλῆσαι καὶ κερδᾶναι  
 γ οὐ προσγραφῆσεται τὰ σά· μὴ μερίμνα  
 δ κερδανεῖς ὀλίγον ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος  
 ε ζῇ ὁ ἀπόδημος καὶ ἔρχεται· μὴ ἀγωνία

- 5 λήψη τὸ ἀργύριον βραδέως  
 ζ οὐ λήψη ἀρτίως κομητάτον  
 η ἀποκατασταθήσῃ εἰς τὸν τόπον σου  
 θ μὴ συναλλάξῃς ἄρτι· βλαβήσῃ γάρ  
 ι οὐχ ἕξεις ὠφέλειαν ἀπὸ τοῦ φίλου σου

## δεκάς κζ'

- α οὐ κινήσῃ τοῦ τόπου σου  
 β οὐ βλαβήσῃ· μὴ ἀγωνία, ἀλλ' εὖχου  
 γ γαμήσεις ἢν οἶδας, εἰ θέλεις, ταχέως  
 δ ἀγοράσεις τὸ προκείμενον μετὰ κόπου  
 ε εὐτυχήσεις ἐξ ἰδίων κόπων  
 5 συναλλάξεις ἄρτι καὶ κερδανεῖς πολὺ  
 ζ ἀποδημήσεις μακρὰν  
 η προκόψῃς ἐξαπίνης ὅτε οὐκ οἶδας  
 θ μὴ κοινώνει· οὐ συμφέρει σοι  
 ι στρατεύσῃ, ἄρτι δὲ οὐ

## δεκάς κη'

- α πλεύσεις καλῶς καὶ περιχαρῶς  
 β ἀπολυθήσεται ὁ συνεχόμενος μετὰ κόπου  
 γ ἀπαλλαγῇ τῆς φίλης σου  
 δ γενήσῃ ἐπίσκοπος κοπιάσας πολλά  
 ε οὐ καταληφθήσῃ μοιχός· μὴ ἀγωνία  
 5 ἀγοράσεις χωρίον ἢ οἰκίαν  
 ζ οὐ παραμενεῖς πρεσβύτερος  
 η παραμενεῖ σοι ἡ γυνή, ἐὰν θέλῃς  
 θ οὐκ ἀπαλλαγῇ τοῦ κλήρου ἕως θανάτου  
 ι γενήσῃ δεκάπρωτος

## δεκάς κθ'

- α ἀπαρτίσεις ὃ ἐπιβάλλῃ  
 β οὐ λήψῃ λεγάτον ὅλως  
 γ οὐ πεφαρμάκευσαι· μὴ ἀγωνία  
 δ οὐκ ἀπαλλαγῇ τῆς γυναικός  
 ε οὐ λήσεται σου ὁ δρασμός  
 5 γενήσῃ βουλευτής, ἄρτι δὲ οὐ  
 ζ πρεσβεύσεις, οὐ μόνος δέ  
 η οὐ φυγαδευθήσῃ· μὴ ἀγωνία  
 θ γενήσῃ βιοπράγος ἐξαπίνης  
 ι ἀγοράσεις ὃ ἐνθυμῇ, ἐὰν θέλῃς

## δεκάς λ'

- α οὐ λήψῃ ἄρτι τὸ ἀργύριον  
 β λήψῃ κομητάτον κόπῳ πολλῷ  
 γ ἀποκατασταθήσῃ εἰς τὸν τόπον σου  
 δ οὐ δυνήσῃ ἐτέρῳ συναλλάξαι  
 ε οὐκ ὤφελθῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ φίλου οὐδέν  
 ς οὐ πωληθήσῃ ἄρτι· οὐ γὰρ συμφέρει σοι  
 ζ οὐ μενεῖς, ἀλλ' ἀπέρχῃ  
 η οὐ λήψῃ ὀψώνιον  
 θ οὐκ ἀπολήψῃ τὴν παρακαταθήκην  
 ι γαμήσεις τὴν φίλην καὶ βλαβήσῃ

## δεκάς λα'

- α κενῶς ἐπιτεύξῃ γραμμάτων  
 β οὐχ ἔξεις χρόνον ζωῆς πολύν  
 γ ἀνοίξεις ἐργαστήριον βραδέως  
 δ σωθήσῃ τῆς ἀσθενείας εἰ προσέξεις  
 ε σοφιστεύσεις ἐξαπίνης  
 ς οὐχ εὐρήσεις τὸ ἀπολόμενον  
 ζ ἀγορανομήσεις καὶ ὤφελθῇ  
 η οὐ κληρονομήσεις τὸν φίλον· μὴ προσδόκα  
 θ ἔξεις ἐσχάτην καλὴν  
 ι εὐρήσεις ἄρτι τὸν φυγόντα

## δεκάς λβ'

- α οὐ καταληφθήσῃ ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ  
 β οὐκ ἀγοράσεις χωρίον ἢ οἰκίαν  
 γ οὐ παραμενεῖς πρεσβύτερος  
 δ οὐ παραμενεῖ σοι ἡ πρώτη γυνή  
 ε ἀπαλλαγῇ τοῦ κλήρου  
 ς οὐ γενήσῃ δεκάπρωτος ἄρτι  
 ζ οὐ δυνήσῃ ἄρτι τὴν πατρίδα ἰδεῖν  
 η οὐκ ἀπαρτίσεις δ ἐπιβάλλῃ  
 θ οὐ λήψῃ λεγάτον· μὴ προσδόκα  
 ι πεφαρμάκενσαι· σέαυτῷ βοήθει

## δεκάς λγ'

- α οὐ καταλλαγῇ τοῖς κυρίοις  
 β μὴ δῶς τὰ γράμματα ἄρτι  
 γ ἔξεις χρόνον ζωῆς, πλὴν ἀλγήσεις τοὺς πόδας  
 δ οὐκ ἀνοίξεις ἐργαστήριον ἄρτι  
 ε σωθήσῃ τῆς ἀσθενείας· ἀνεκλήθῃ γάρ

- Ϝ σοφιστεύσεις ἐν τῇ πατρίδι σου  
 ζ οὐχ εὐρήσεις τὸ ἀπολόμενον  
 η οὐκ ἀγορανομήσεις ἄρτι  
 θ οὐ κληρονομήσεις τὸν φίλον· χλευάζῃ  
 ι οὐχ ἔξεις ἐσχάτην καλήν· ἐπαιτήσεις γάρ

## δεκάς λδ'

- α ὑβρισθήσῃ δεινῶς  
 β θρέψεις τὸ γεννηθέν  
 γ σωθήσῃ τῆς κατηγορίας  
 δ δώσεις τοὺς λόγους σου· μὴ ἀγωνία  
 ε οὐκ ἐλεύσεται ὁ ἀπόδημος· ἔγχε γάρ  
 Ϝ οὐκ ἀποδώσεις ἂ ὀφείλεις  
 ζ δανείσῃ καὶ εὐθύς αὐτὰ δαπανήσεις  
 η τέξεται μετὰ κινδύνου κόρην  
 θ κινήσῃ τοῦ τόπου σου· ἐπισκευάζου  
 ι οὐ βλαβήσῃ· μὴ ἀγωνία

## δεκάς λε'

- α οὐκ εἴ εὐτυχής  
 β συναλλάξεις ἐξαπίνης καὶ κερδανεῖς  
 γ οὐκ ἀποδημήσεις μακράν  
 δ προκόψεις ταχέως ἐπὶ καλῷ  
 ε μὴ κοινώνει· οὐ συμφέρει σοι  
 Ϝ ἐὰν στρατεύσῃ, μεταμεληθήσῃ  
 ζ οὐκ ἔστιν ὥρα· ἔασον ἄρτι  
 η μὴ πλεύσῃς ἄρτι· ναυαγήσεις γάρ  
 θ ὁ συνεχόμενος ταχέως ἀπολυθήσεται  
 οὐκ ἀπαλλαγῇσῃ τῆς φίλης σου

## δεκάς λς'

- α [οὐκ ἔχεις ὄφελος ἀπὸ τοῦ φίλου σου]<sup>1</sup>  
 β μὴ πλεύσῃς, προλέγω σοι  
 γ ὁ συνεχόμενος ἀπολυθήσεται  
 δ οὐκ ἀπαλλαγῇσῃ τῆς φίλης σου  
 ε οὐ γενήσῃ ἐπίσκοπος· μὴ προσδόκα  
 Ϝ οὐ καταληφθήσῃ μοιχὸς τέως  
 ζ ἀγοράσεις τὸ κτῆμα καὶ οὐ παραμενεῖ σοι  
 η παραμενεῖς πρεσβύτερος  
 θ οὐ παραμενεῖ σοι ἡ γυνή  
 ι οὐκ ἀπαλλαγῇσῃ τοῦ κλήρου

<sup>1</sup> A wrongly placed answer.

## δεκάς λζ'

- α οὐκ ἐλεύσεται ὁ ἀπόδημος  
 β ἀποδώσεις ἄρτι ἂ ὀφείλεις  
 γ δανείσῃ καὶ βλαβήσῃ· οὐ μενεῖ γάρ  
 δ τέξεται μετὰ κινδύνου ἄρρεν  
 ε οὐ κινήσῃ τοῦ τόπου σου τέως  
 ς οὐ βλαβήσῃ· μὴ ἀγωνία  
 ζ γαμήσεις τὴν ἐκ συνηθείας καθ' ἡμέραν  
 η ἀγοράσεις τὸ προκείμενον καμάτῳ  
 θ εὐτυχήσεις ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ  
 ι συναλλάξεις καὶ πραγματεύσῃ

## δεκάς λη'

- α σωθήσεται τὸ γεννώμενον ἐπὶ καλῷ  
 β οὐ σωθήσῃ τῆς κατηγορίας· προελήφθης γάρ  
 γ δώσεις ἄρτι τοὺς λόγους σου ἐπὶ καλῷ  
 δ οὐκ ἐλεύσεται ἄρτι ὁ ἀποδημῶν· μὴ προσδόκα  
 ε ἀποδώσεις ἄρτι ἂ ὀφείλεις καὶ χαρήσῃ  
 ς οὐ δεῖ σε δανείσασθαι ἄρτι· περίμεινον  
 ζ τέξεται ταχυθάνατον θῆλυ  
 η κινήσῃ τοῦ τόπου σου ταχὺ ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον  
 θ βλαβῆναι ἔξεις ἐν πρώτοις· ἐν δὲ τῷ τέλει κερδανεῖς  
 ι βλαβήσῃ ἐπὶ τῷ πρώτῳ γάμῳ· μακροθύμησον

## δεκάς λθ'

- α εἰπὲ τὴν δίκην  
 β οὐ περιμενεῖ σοι τὰ ὑπάρχοντα  
 γ οὐ λήψῃ τὴν φερνήν, ἐὰν μὴ δικάσῃ  
 δ κληρονομήσεις τοὺς γονεῖς μόνος  
 ε τεκνώσεις ταχέως καὶ λυπηθήσῃ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς  
 ς οὐ καταλλαγῇς τοῖς κυρίοις σου νῦν· οὐ γὰρ συμφέρει  
 ζ δώσεις τὰ γράμματα ταχέως  
 η ἔξεις χρόνον ζωῆς καὶ πλοῦτον, εἴτα ἐπαιτήσεις  
 θ οὐκ ἀνοίξεις ἐργαστήριον νῦν· περίμεινον  
 ι σωθήσῃ τῆς ἀσθενείας ταχέως· μόνον εὐθύμει

## δεκάς μ'

- α οὐκ ἀγορανομήσεις  
 β οὐ κληρονομήσεις τὸν φίλον· μὴ ἔλπιζε  
 γ ἔξεις ἐσχάτην καλήν, ὀλίγον δέ  
 δ οὐχ εὐρήσεις τὸν φυγόντα νῦν  
 ε ἔξεις γένεσιν ἄρχοντος καλήν

5 κληρονομήσεις τὴν μητέρα νῦν  
 ζ οὐ κληρονομήσεις τὸν πατέρα ποτέ  
 η ἐλευθερωθήσῃ μετὰ λεγάτου καλοῦ  
 θ οὐχ ὑβρισθήσῃ τὸ σύνολον· μὴ ἀγωνία  
 ι σωθήσεται τὸ γεννηθὲν καὶ ταχὺ αὐξανεῖ

## δεκάς μα΄

α οὐ παραμενεῖ σοι τὰ ὑπάρχοντα  
 β οὐ λήψῃ τὴν φερνήν, εἰ μὴ δικάσῃ  
 γ οὐ κληρονομήσεις τοὺς γονεῖς· προτελευτήσεις γάρ  
 δ οὐ τεκνώσεις ἐξ αὐτῆς· μὴ προσδόκα  
 ε καταλλαγῇσῃ τοῖς κυρίοις βραδέως  
 5 οὐ δώσεις ἄρτι τὰ γράμματα καὶ συμφέρι  
 ζ μετὰ χρόνου εὐτυχήσεις καὶ γηράσεις  
 η ἀνοίξεις ἐργαστήριον καὶ πλουτήσεις  
 θ οὐ σωθήσῃ τῆς ἀρρωστίας σου  
 ι οὐ σοφιστεύσεις· ἄλλο τι πράττε

## δεκάς μβ΄

α οὐ νικήσεις· σιώπα  
 β κληρονομήσεις ὅτε οὐκ ἐλπίζεις  
 γ μὴ μισθώσῃ ἄρτι· περίμεινον, μὴ σπεῦδε  
 δ οἰκονομήσεις καὶ κατηγορηθήσῃ παρὰ πολλῶν  
 ε οὐκ ἐκτρώσει ἡ γυνή σου· χαῖρε  
 5 μὴ δανείσῃς· βραδέως γὰρ ἀπολήψῃ  
 ζ πωλήσεις τὸν φόρτον καὶ κερδανείς  
 η οὐκ ἀπολυθήσῃ τῆς συνοχῆς· μακροθύμει  
 θ λήψῃ ἣν θέλεις γυναῖκα καὶ πλουτήσεις  
 ι ὁ ἀσθενῶν μακρονοσήσας ὑγιανεῖ

## δεκάς μγ΄

α οὐ δέδοταί σοι συναλλάξαι  
 β ὠφελήσῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ φίλου σου ὀλίγον  
 γ πωληθήσῃ καὶ μεταμεληθήσῃ μηδὲν ὠφελῶν  
 δ οὐ μενεῖς ὅπου ὑπάγεις· οὐ γὰρ συμφέρι  
 ε λήψῃ ὀψώνιον μερικόν  
 5 οὐκ ἀπολήψῃ τὴν παρακαταθήκην  
 ζ οὐ συμφέρι σοι γῆμαι τὴν φίλην  
 η μὴ θῆς παραβόλιον· νικηθήσῃ γάρ  
 θ ἔξεις ἐλπίδα πίστεως πάνυ καλήν  
 ι οὐκ ἐπιτεύξῃ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως νῦν



## δεκάς μδ'

- α οὐ δοθήσεται σοι στρατεύσασθαι  
 β ἐπερώτησον καὶ ἀκούσῃ τὴν ἀλήθειαν  
 γ πλεύσεις καὶ χειμασθήσῃ ἑξαπίνης  
 δ ὁ συνεχόμενος ἀπολυθήσεται ἄρτι  
 ε ἀπαλλαγῇ τῆς φίλης καὶ μεταμεληθήσῃ  
 ς γενήσῃ ἐπίσκοπος ὅταν γηράσῃ  
 ζ καταληφθήσῃ ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ καὶ ζημιωθήσῃ  
 η οὐκ ἀγοράσεις τὸ κτῆμα. μὴ προσδόκα  
 θ οὐ παραμενεῖς πρεσβύτερος  
 ι παραμενεῖ σοι ἡ γυνὴ ἕως γήρως

## δεκάς με'

- α κληρονομήσεις τοὺς γονεῖς  
 β τεκνώσεις ἄρρεν καὶ θῆλυ καὶ χαρήσῃ  
 γ καταλλαγῇ τοῖς κυρίοις καὶ ὠφελήσῃ  
 δ κενῶς δώσεις τὰ γράμματα  
 ε οὐχ ἕξεις χρόνον ζωῆς. διάθου  
 ς οὐκ ἀνοίξεις ἐργαστήριον· οὐ γὰρ δέδοται σοι  
 ζ ἀπαλλαγῇ τῆς ἀσθενείας, βραδέως δέ  
 η σοφιστεύσεις καὶ εὐτυχῆσεις ἐν τῷ πράγματι  
 θ εὐρήσεις τὸ ἀπολλόμενον νῦν. φρόντισον  
 ι οὐκ ἀγορανομήσεις ὅταν θέλῃς· ἐμποδίσῃ γάρ

## δεκάς μς'

- α [κληρονομήσεις τοὺς γονεῖς]<sup>1</sup>  
 β οὐκ ἀγοράσεις τὸ προκείμενον  
 γ εὐτυχῆσεις ἐκ πολλῶν σου καμάτων  
 δ μὴ συναλλάξῃς. μὴδὲν ποιεῖ. οὐ συμφέρει  
 ε ἀποδημήσεις ἑξαπίνης καὶ πολὺ ὠφελήσῃ  
 ς προκόψῃς ὅτε οὐκ ἐλπίζεις ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον  
 ζ κοινωνήσεις καὶ βλαβεῖς μεταμεληθήσῃ  
 η στρατεύσῃ καὶ ταχὺ προκόψῃς ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον  
 θ ἐρώτα μετὰ πίστεως καὶ ἀκούσῃ τὴν ἀλήθειαν  
 ι πλεύσεις μετὰ τὸ ἐγκοπήναι καλῶς

## δεκάς μζ'

- α σωθήσῃ τῆς κατηγορίας πολλῇ παρακλήσει  
 β δώσεις τοὺς λόγους σου βραδέως  
 γ ἐλεύσεται ὁ ἀπόδημος ἄρτι χαίρων  
 δ ἀποδώσεις ἃ ὀφείλεις κατὰ μέρος. μὴ ἀγωνία  
 ε δανείσῃ ἐπὶ ὑποθήκῃ καὶ διασύρεις καιρὸν

<sup>1</sup> A wrongly placed answer.

5 τέξεται ἄχρηστον. μὴ λυποῦ  
 ζ κινήσῃ τοῦ τόπου σου. ἐτοιμάζου καὶ χαῖρε  
 η βλαβῆναι ἔξεις. φοβοῦ καὶ σαντὺν τήρει  
 θ γαμήσεις καὶ σεαυτοῦ καταγνώσῃ μετανοῶν  
 ι οὐκ ἀγοράσεις τὸ προκείμενον

## δεκάς μη'

α οὐ στρατηγήσεις πώποτε  
 β οὐχ ἔξεις θάνατον ἰδεῖν νῦν. μὴ ἀγωνία  
 γ νικήσεις. ἀγωνίζου ἕως θανάτου  
 δ κληρονομήσεις καὶ ταχὺ τελευτήσεις  
 ε μισθώσῃ καὶ κερδανεῖς πολὺ  
 5 οἰκονομήσεις καὶ κατηγορηθῇ καὶ φθονηθῇ  
 ζ οὐκ ἐκτρώσει. μὴ φοβοῦ, ἀλλ' εὖχου  
 η δάνεισον· ἀπολήψῃ γὰρ εὐχαριστῶν  
 θ πωλήσεις τὸν φόρτον καλῶς  
 ι ἀπολυθήσῃ τῆς συνοχῆς. εὐθύμει

## δεκάς μθ'

α λήψῃ ἣν θέλεις γυναῖκα  
 β ὁ ἀσθενῶν σωθήσεται καμάτῳ πολλῷ  
 γ οὐ σωθήσῃ τῆς συκοφαντίας. περίτρεχε  
 δ κληρονομήσεις τὴν γυναῖκα, οὐ μόνος δέ  
 ε μὴ λέγε τὴν δίκην ἄρτι· ἡττηθήσῃ γάρ  
 5 παραμενεῖ σοι τὰ ὑπάρχοντα πάντα  
 ζ οὐ λήψῃ τὴν φερνὴν  
 η κληρονομήσεις τοὺς γονεῖς μόνος  
 θ τεκνώσεις καὶ χαρήσῃ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς μεγάλως  
 ι οὐ καταλλαγῇ τῷ κυρίῳ ἄρτι

## δεκάς ν'

α οὐ δυνήσῃ νῦν ἄρξαι  
 β κληρονομήσεις τὴν μητέρα ἐξ ἡμισείας  
 γ οὐ κληρονομήσεις τὸν πατέρα. μὴ ἔλπιζε  
 δ οὐκ ἐλευθερωθήσῃ ἄρτι, ἀλλὰ μετὰ χρόνου  
 ε οὐχ ὑβρισθήσῃ. μὴ ἀγωνία, ἀλλὰ καρτέρει  
 5 σωθήσεται τὸ γεννηθὲν μετὰ καμάτου  
 ζ σωθήσῃ τῆς κατηγορίας διὰ φίλου καλοῦ  
 η δώσεις ἄρτι τοὺς λόγους σου ἐπὶ καλῷ  
 θ ἐλεύσεται ὁ ἀπόδημος ὑγιαίνων  
 ι μὴ ἀποδῶς ἄρτι ἂ ὀφείλεις. περίμεινον

## δεκάς να'

- α [οὐ μενείς ὅπου ὑπάγεις]<sup>1</sup>  
 β ἀπαλλαγῇ τῆς φίλης σου ἄρτι  
 γ γενήσῃ ἐπίσκοπος ταχύ, μεταμεληθήσῃ δέ  
 δ καταληφθήσῃ μοιχὸς καὶ οὐ βλαβήσῃ  
 ε ἀγοράσεις τὸ κτήμα ὃ ἐνθυμῇ  
 ς παραμενείς πρεσβύτερος ἕως γήρως  
 ζ οὐ παραμενεῖ σοι ἡ γυνή· μοιχεύεται γάρ  
 η ἀπαλλαγῇ τοῦ κλήρου. φρόντιζε  
 θ γενήσῃ δεκάπρωτος ἐν τάχει  
 ι οὐ θεάσῃ τὴν πατρίδα ἄρτι

## δεκάς νβ'

- α εἰς ἄρτι μισθώσῃ, βλαβήσῃ  
 β οἰκονομήσεις εὐθέως καλῶς  
 γ ἐκτρώσει καὶ κινδυνεύσει. πρόσεχε  
 δ εἰς δανείσης, βραδέως ἀπολήψῃ καὶ μετὰ μάχης  
 ε πωλήσεις τὸν φόρτον ταχέως καὶ χαρήσῃ  
 ς ἀπολυθήσῃ τῆς συνοχῆς ἐν τάχει  
 ζ λήψῃ ἣν θέλεις γυναικα ἐπὶ κακῷ σου  
 η ὁ ἀσθενῶν μετὰ κινδύνου σωθήσεται  
 θ σωθήσῃ τῆς συκοφαντίας πολλῇ παρακλήσει  
 ι οὐ κληρονομήσεις τὴν γυναικα. μὴ ἔλπιζε

## δεκάς νγ'

- α οὐχ εὐρήσεις τὸν φυγόντα  
 β ἄρξεις καὶ εὐημερήσεις καὶ δοξασθήσῃ  
 γ κληρονομήσεις τὴν μητέρα μόνος  
 δ οὐ κληρονομήσεις τὸν πατέρα· προτελευτήσεις γάρ  
 ε ἐλευθερωθήσῃ δοὺς ἀργύριον μετὰ παρακλήσεως  
 ς ὑβρισθήσῃ δεινῶς· ἀλλὰ μὴ φρόντιζε  
 ζ οὐ ζήσεται τὸ γεννώμενον. ἄρτι τελευτᾷ  
 η οὐ σωθήσῃ κατηγορούμενος. συσκευάζου  
 θ δώσεις ἄρτι τοὺς λόγους σου καὶ ὠφελήσῃ  
 ι οὐκ ἐλεύσεται ὁ ἀπόδημος· ἀσχολεῖται γάρ

## δεκάς νδ'

- α οὐ παραμενεῖ σοι ἡ γυνή  
 β οὐ δυνήσῃ ἀπαλλαγῇ τοῦ κλήρου  
 γ οὐ γενήσῃ δεκάπρωτος. μὴ ἔλπιζε  
 δ θεάσῃ τὴν πατρίδα ἐν τάχει  
 ε οὐκ ἀπαρτίσεις ὃ ἐπιβάλλῃ

<sup>1</sup> A misplaced answer.

5 λήψῃ λεγάτον ἐπὶ βλάβῃ πολλῇ  
 ζ οὐ πεφαρμάκευσαι, ἀλλὰ μεμάγευσαι  
 η οὐκ ἀπαλλαγῇσῃ τῆς γυναικὸς ἄρτι. καρτέρει  
 θ λήσεται σου ὁ δρασμὸς πρὸς ὀλίγον  
 ι οὐ γενήσῃ βουλευτὴς τέως. περιμένουν

## δεκάς νε'

α οὐ λήψῃ κομητάτον  
 β ἀποκατασταθήσῃ εἰς τὸν τόπον σου  
 γ συναλλάξεις καὶ κερδανεῖς τὰ ἐτέρων  
 δ ἥξει σοι ὄφελος ἀπὸ τοῦ φίλου σου πολὺ  
 ε οὐ πωληθήσῃ. οὐ συμφέρει σοι. περιμένουν  
 5 μενεῖς ὅπου ὑπάγεις ὀλίγον καιρόν  
 ζ λήψῃ ὀψώνιον βραδέως  
 η ἀπολήψῃ τὴν παρακαταθήκην ἀκινδύνως  
 θ οὐ γαμήσεις τὴν φίλην. μὴ πλανῶ  
 ι μὴ θῇς παραβόλιον· νικηθήσῃ γάρ

## δεκάς νς'

α δώσεις τοὺς λόγους σου  
 β οὐκ ἐλεύσεται ὁ ἀπόδημος ἄρτι  
 γ ἀπόδος ἄρτι ἃ ὀφείλεις, εἴπερ ἐθέλεις  
 δ οὐ δυνήσῃ δανείσασθαι ἄρτι. περιμένουν  
 ε τέξεται μετὰ κινδύνου πολλοῦ  
 5 κινήσῃ τοῦ τόπου σου ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον  
 ζ βλαβήσῃ ὀλίγον· ἀλλὰ μὴ λυποῦ  
 η οὐ γαμήσεις ἄρτι. περιμένουν· συμφέρει γάρ  
 θ ἀγοράσεις τὸ προκείμενον καὶ χαρήσῃ  
 ι εὐτυχήσεις ταχέως ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον

## δεκάς νζ'

α οὐ λήψῃ λεγάτον. μὴ προσδόκα  
 β πεφαρμάκευσαι. σεαυτῷ βοήθει  
 γ ἀπαλλαγῇσῃ τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ μεταμεληθήσῃ  
 δ λήσεται σου ὁ δρασμὸς πρὸς καιρόν  
 ε οὐ γενήσῃ βουλευτὴς ἄρτι. φρόντιζε  
 5 πρεσβεύσεις οὐ μόνος· συμφέρει γάρ  
 ζ οὐ φνυγαδευθήσῃ. μὴ φοβοῦ. εὐθύμει  
 η γενήσῃ βιοπράγος καὶ εὐχαριστήσεις  
 θ ἀγοράσεις ὁ ἐνθυμῇ καὶ μεταμεληθήσῃ  
 ι οὐχ εὐρήσεις ἄρτι πωλῆσαι. περιμένουν

## δεκάς νη'

- α κερδανείς ὀλίγον ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος  
 β ζῇ ὁ ἀπόδημος καὶ ἔρχεται μετὰ χρόνου  
 γ λήψῃ ἀργύριον μετὰ χρόνου  
 δ οὐ λήψῃ ἄρτι κομητάτον  
 ε ἀποκατασταθήσῃ εἰς τὸν τόπον σου  
 ς ἐὰν συναλλάξῃς, βλαβήσῃ  
 ζ οὐ πωλήσεις ἐπὶ τῷ συμφέροντί σου  
 η ὠφελήθῃς ἀπὸ τοῦ φίλου σου πολὺ  
 θ μενεῖς ὅπου ὑπάγεις, ἐὰν σπεύσῃς  
 ι λήψῃ ὀψώνιον καλῶς

## δεκάς νθ'

- α οὐ κατασταθήσῃ κληρικός  
 β οὐ στρατηγήσεις ἄρτι. μὴ ἔλπιζε  
 γ οὐχ ἔξεις θάνατον ἰδεῖν  
 δ οὐ νικήσεις τελείως. μὴ ἔλπιζε  
 ε κληρονομήσεις, οὐ μόνος δέ  
 ς μίσθωσαι. ὠφελήθῃς γὰρ πολὺ  
 ζ οὐ δέδοται σοι οἰκονομήσαι ἄρτι  
 η οὐκ ἐκτρώσει. μὴ φοβοῦ  
 θ μὴ δανείσῃς, ἵνα μὴ μεταμεληθῇς  
 ι πωλήσεις τὸν φόρτον καλῶς καὶ χαρήσῃ

## δεκάς ξ'

- α πωληθῇς, ἄρτι δὲ οὐ  
 β μενεῖς ὅπου ὑπάγεις ὀλίγον  
 γ λήψῃ ὀψώνιον καλὸν νῦν  
 δ ἀπολήψῃ τὴν παρακαταθήκην  
 ε γαμήσεις τὴν φίλην, νῦν δὲ οὐ  
 ς θές παραβόλιον· νικήσεις γάρ  
 ζ οὐχ ἔξεις ἐλπίδα πίστεως τὸ σύνολον  
 η ἐπιτεύξῃ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως ταχέως  
 θ κατασταθήσῃ κληρικός βραδέως  
 ι οὐ στρατηγήσεις ποτέ. μὴ ἔλπιζε

## δεκάς ξα'

- α ἐκτρώσει καὶ κινδυνεύσει  
 β δάνεισον ἐπὶ ὑποθήκῃ ὅσον θέλεις  
 γ πωλήσεις τὸν φόρτον βραδέως. μὴ ἐκκάκει  
 δ οὐκ ἀπαλλαγῇς τῆς συνοχῆς. περίμεινον  
 ε οὐ λήψῃ ἢν θέλεις γυναῖκα

- 5 ὁ ἀσθενῶν μακρονοσήσας σωθήσεται  
 ζ σωθήσῃ τῆς συκοφαντίας διὰ φίλων  
 η οὐ κληρονομήσεις τὴν γυναῖκα  
 θ σπούδασον εἰπεῖν τὴν δίκην ἄρτι  
 ι οὐ παραμενεῖ σοι τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἐπὶ πολὺ

## δεκάς ξβ'

- α οὐχ ἔξεις χρόνον ζωῆς  
 β οὐκ ἀνοίξεις ἐργαστήριον ἄρτι  
 γ οὐ σωθήσῃ τῆς ἀσθενείας. διάθου  
 δ οὐ σοφιστεύσεις νῦν. ἄλλο τι ποιεῖ  
 ε οὐχ εὐρήσεις νῦν τὸ ἀπολόμενον  
 5 οὐκ ἀγορανομήσεις ἄρτι. μὴ ἔλπιζε  
 ζ οὐ κληρονομήσεις νῦν τὸν φίλον  
 η οὐχ ἔξεις ἐσχάτην καλήν. σεαυτῷ βοήθει  
 θ οὐχ εὐρήσεις τὸν φυγόντα νῦν  
 ι οὐκ ἄρξεις ἄρτι, ἀλλὰ μετὰ χρόνου

## δεκάς ξγ'

- α στρατεύσῃ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ βλάβῃ  
 β [ἐργάζῃ μετὰ πόνου καὶ κόπου πολλοῦ]<sup>1</sup>  
 γ πλεύσεις νῦν καλῶς καὶ χαρήσῃ  
 δ οὐκ ἀπολυθήσεται ὁ συνεχόμενος ἄρτι  
 ε ἀπαλλαγῇ τῆς φίλης ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ  
 5 οὐχ ἔξεις τύχην ἐπισκοπεῦσαι  
 ζ [μοιχὸς οὐκ εἶ ἀλλ' ἡ γυνή σου ἄλλον φιλεῖ]<sup>1</sup>  
 η οὐκ ἀγοράσεις ἄρτι χωρίον ἢ οἰκίαν  
 θ οὐ παραμενεῖς πρεσβύτερος  
 ι οὐ παραμενεῖ σοι ἡ γυνή

## δεκάς ξδ'

- α οὐ σωθήσεται ὁ ἀπόδημος  
 β περὶ τοῦ ἀργυρίου ἀπόστειλον ταχέως  
 γ λήψῃ κομητάτον ὥς θέλεις  
 δ οὐκ ἀποκατασταθήσῃ εἰς τὸν τόπον σου ἕως γήρως  
 ε ἐὰν συναλλάξῃς ἐτέρῳ, ὠφελθήσῃ  
 5 οὐχ ἔξεις ὠφέλειαν ἀπὸ τοῦ φίλου σου  
 ζ ὅπου ἂν παρθῇς, μεταμεληθήσῃ  
 η μενεῖς ὅπου ὑπάγεις καὶ καλῶς  
 θ συναλλάξεις ἐν τῷ πράγματι τοῦ ὀψωνίου  
 ι οὐκ ἀπολήψῃ τὴν παρακαταθήκην

<sup>1</sup> Misplaced answers.

## δεκάς ξε'

- οὐ παραμενεῖς πρεσβύτερος  
 β οὐ παραμενεῖ σοι ἡ γυνὴ ἕως γήρωσ  
 γ οὐκ ἀπαλλαγῇσιν τοῦ κλήρου ἕως θανάτου  
 δ γενήσῃ δεκάπρωτος ταχύ  
 ε οὐχ ἕξεις τὴν πατρίδα ἰδεῖν  
 ς ἀπαρτίσεις ταχέως ὃ ἐπιβάλλῃ  
 ζ λήψῃ λεγάτον, ὀλίγον δέ  
 η πεφαρμάκευσαι. σεαυτῷ βοήθει  
 θ οὐκ ἀπαλλαγῇσιν τῆς γυναικός ποτε  
 ι λήσεται σου ὁ δρασμὸς πρὸς ὀλίγον

## δεκάς ξς'

- α γενήσῃ βιοπράγος  
 β οὐκ ἀγοράσεις ὃ ἐνθυμῇ· οὐ γὰρ συμφέρει  
 γ πωλήσεις καὶ κερδανεῖς πολὺ  
 δ προσγραφῇσεται τὰ σά. ἄλλα κτῆσαι  
 ε κερδανεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος ὀλίγον  
 ς ζῇ ὁ ἀπόδημος καὶ ἔρχεται ὑγιαίνων  
 ζ λήψῃ τὸ ἀργύριον κατὰ μέρος  
 η οὐ λήψῃ ἄρτι κομητάτον  
 θ οὐκ ἀποκατασταθήσῃ εἰς τὸν τόπον σου  
 ι ἐὰν ἐτέρῳ συναλλάξῃς, βλαβήσῃ

## δεκάς ξζ'

- α φυγαδευθήσῃ πρὸς ὀλίγον  
 β οὐ γενήσῃ τελείως βιοπράγος  
 γ ἀγοράσεις ὃ ἐνθυμῇ καὶ χαρήσῃ  
 δ βραδέως εὐρήσεις πωλῆσαι, καλῶς δέ  
 ε οὐ προσγραφῇσεται τὰ σά. μὴ φοβοῦ  
 ς κερδανεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος πολὺ  
 ζ οὐκ ἐλεύσεται ὁ ἀπόδημος· οὐ γὰρ ζῇ  
 η λήψῃ τὸ ἀργύριον ἄρτι  
 θ οὐ λήψῃ κομητάτον νῦν  
 ι οὐκ ἀποκατασταθήσῃ εἰς τὸν τόπον σου

## δεκάς ξη'

- α οὐ κληρονομήσεις τὸν πατέρα  
 β οὐκ ἐλευθερωθήσῃ ἄρτι. μὴ προσδόκα  
 γ οὐχ ὑβρισθήσῃ. μᾶλλον χαῖρε  
 δ σωθήσεται τὸ γεννηθὲν μετὰ καμάτου  
 ε σωθήσῃ τῆς κατηγορίας παρακλήσει



- 5 δώσεις τοὺς λόγους σου δωρεάν  
 ζ ἐλεύσεται ὁ ἀπόδημος χρονίσας. χαίρε  
 η οὐκ ἀποδώσεις ἅ ὀφείλεις ἄρτι, ἀλλὰ μετὰ χρόνου  
 θ βραδέως δανείσῃ παρ' οὗ θέλεις  
 ι τέξεται καὶ τὸ γεννώμενον ἄχρηστον ἔσται

## δεκάς ξθ'

- α πλεύσεις νῦν  
 β ἀπολυθήσεται ὁ συνεχόμενος νῦν  
 γ ἀπαλλαγίῃ τῆς φίλης διὰ χρόνου  
 δ οὐχ ἔξεις γενέσθαι ἐπίσκοπος. μὴ ἔλπιζε  
 ε οὐ καταληφθήσῃ μοιχός  
 5 ἀγοράσεις χωρίον ἢ οἰκίαν  
 ζ παραμενεῖς πρεσβύτερος  
 η οὐ παραμενεῖ σοι ἡ γυνή· φίλον γὰρ ἔχει  
 θ ἀπαλλαγίῃ τοῦ κλήρου  
 ι οὐ γενήσῃ δεκάπρωτός ποτε

## δεκάς ο'

- α σωθήσῃ τῆς ἀσθενείας σου  
 β οὐ σοφιστεύσεις. ἄλλο τι πρᾶττε  
 γ εὐρήσεις τὸ ἀπολόμενον ταχέως καὶ χαρήσῃ  
 δ ἀγορανομήσεις καὶ ὠφελήσῃ πολύ  
 ε κληρονομήσεις τὸν φίλον ἐξ ἡμισείας  
 5 ἔξεις ἐσχάτην καλήν. μόνον εὔχου  
 ζ εὐρήσεις ἄρτι τὸν φυγόντα  
 η ἄρξεις καὶ εὐμερήσεις καὶ δοξασθήσῃ  
 θ οὐ κληρονομήσεις τὴν μητέρα. ἄλλω ἀπόκειται  
 ι κληρονομήσεις τὸν πατέρα μόνος

## δεκάς οα'

- α τέξεται μετὰ κινδύνου  
 β κινηθήσῃ τοῦ τόπου σου ἄφνω ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον  
 γ βλαβήσῃ ἐν τούτῳ, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐτέρῳ ὠφελήσῃ  
 δ γῆμαι ἔξεις ἐπὶ καλῷ, ἐὰν σπείσῃς  
 ε οὐκ ἀγοράσεις τὸ προκείμενον· οὐ γὰρ ἐπαρκεῖς  
 5 εὐτυχήσεις ἐπ' ἐσχάτων καὶ οἰκοδεσποτήσεις  
 ζ συναλλάξεις καὶ κερδανεῖς διὰ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων  
 η ἀποδημήσεις ἑξαπίνης καὶ κερδανεῖς  
 θ οὐ προκόψῃς ἄρτι. μὴ ἔλπιζε  
 ι κοινωνήσεις ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ

## δεκάς οβ'

- α οὐ γενήσῃ βουλευτής  
 β οὐ πρεσβεύσεις μόνος· οὐ γὰρ συμφέρει σοι  
 γ οὐ φυγαδευθήσῃ· μὴ φοβοῦ  
 δ οὐ γενήσῃ βιοπράγος τὸ σύνολον  
 ε ἀγοράσεις ὃ ἐνθυμῇ καὶ μεταμεληθήσῃ  
 ς εὐρήσεις πωλῆσαι βραδέως  
 ζ προσγραφήσεται τὰ σά· πρόσεχε  
 η κερδανεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος· πρόσεχε  
 θ ἐλεύσεται ὁ ἀπόδημος μετὰ φίλου καλοῦ  
 ι οὐ λήψῃ τὸ ἀργύριον ὅλως

## δεκάς ογ'

- α οὐκ ἀγοράσεις χωρίον ἢ οἰκίαν  
 β παραμενεῖς πρεσβύτερος ἕως γήρως  
 γ οὐ παραμενεῖ σοι ἡ γυνή· μοιχεύεται γάρ  
 δ ἀπαλλαγῇ τοῦ κλήρου μετὰ γήρως  
 ε γενήσῃ δεκάπρωτος ἐξαπίνης  
 ς ἕξεις τὴν πατρίδα ἰδεῖν, βραδέως δέ  
 ζ ἀπαρτίσεις ὃ ἐπιβάλλῃ ταχέως  
 η λήψῃ λεγάτον, ὀλίγον δέ  
 θ οὐ πεφαρμάκευσαι· τί ἀκαιρεῖς;  
 ι οὐκ ἀπαλλαγῇ τῆς γυναικός· μὴ μερίμνα

## δεκάς οδ'

- α οὐ σωθήσῃ τῆς συκοφαντίας  
 β κληρονομήσεις τὴν γυναικα μόνος  
 γ εἰπὲ τὴν δίκην ἄρτι· νικήσεις γάρ  
 δ οὐ παραμενεῖ σοι τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἕως γήρως  
 ε οὐ λήψῃ τὴν φερνὴν· οὐ γὰρ εὐρήσεις τι  
 ς οὐ κληρονομήσεις τοὺς γονεῖς σου· ἐμισθήσῃ γάρ  
 ζ οὐ τεκνώσεις ἄρτι· μὴ προσδόκα  
 η καταλλαγῇ τοῖς κυρίοις καὶ ἀγαπηθήσῃ ὑπ' αὐτῶν  
 θ δὸς τὰ γράμματα· ἐπιτεύξῃ οὗ χρήξεις  
 ι ἕξεις χρόνον ζωῆς καὶ πάνυ καλόν

## δεκάς οε'

- α οὐκ οἰκονομήσεις  
 β ἐκτρώσει καὶ κινδυνεύσει ἕως θανάτου  
 γ ἐὰν δανείσῃς, βραδέως ἀπολήψῃ  
 δ οὐ πωλήσεις τὸν φόρτον ταχύ  
 ε ἀπολυθήσῃ τῆς συνοχῆς ἄρτι

Ϛ λήψῃ ἣν θέλεις γυναῖκα ἐπὶ κακῷ  
 ζ ὁ ἀσθενῶν σωθήσεται καμάτων πολλῶ  
 η σωθήσῃ τῆς συκοφαντίας ταχύ  
 θ οὐ κληρονομήσεις τὴν γυναῖκα μόνος  
 ι ἀγωνίζου, εἰπὲ τὴν δίκην· νικήσεις γάρ

## δεκάς ος'

α κληρονομήσεις τὴν μητέρα  
 β οὐ κληρονομήσεις τὸν πατέρα· μὴ ἔλπιζε  
 γ ἐλευθερωθήσῃ, ἄρτι δὲ οὐ  
 δ οὐχ ὑβρισθήσῃ νῦν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ χρόνου  
 ε τὸ γεννώμενον μὴ τρέφε, συμβουλεύω σοι  
 Ϛ κινδυνεύσεις ἐπὶ τῇ κατηγορίᾳ  
 ζ δώσεις τοὺς λόγους σου μεθ' ὑβρεως  
 η οὐκ ἐλεύσεται ὁ ἀπόδημος· ἀσχολεῖται γάρ  
 θ ἀποδώσεις ἄρτι ἃ ὀφείλεις ἐκ κόπων σου  
 ι οὐ δυνήσῃ ἄρτι δανείσασθαι· οὐ γὰρ πιστεύσει σοί τις

## δεκάς οζ'

α οὐ παραμενεῖ σοι ὁ κλῆρος  
 β γενήσῃ δεκάπρωτος, ὅτε οὐκ οἶδας  
 γ ἕξεις τὴν πατρίδα ἰδεῖν ἐξαπίνης  
 δ ἀπαρτίσεις ὁ ἐπιβάλλῃ καὶ δοξασθήσῃ  
 ε οὐ λήψῃ λεγάτον· μὴ ἔλπιζε  
 Ϛ οὐ πεφαρμάκευσαι· μὴ φοβοῦ  
 ζ ἀπαλλαγῇ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ  
 η οὐ λήσεται σου ὁ δρασμός  
 θ γενήσῃ βουλευτής, ἄρτι δὲ οὐ  
 ι πρεσβεύσῃ μόνος καὶ δοξασθήσῃ

## δεκάς οη'

α ὄψει θάνατον ὃν οὐ θέλεις  
 β οὐ νικήσεις ἄρτι· συμφέρει σοι καρτερῆσαι  
 γ οὐ κληρονομήσεις ἄρτι· σιώπα  
 δ μισθώσῃ καὶ κερδανεῖς ὅσον ἐπιθυμεῖς  
 ε οἰκονομήσεις ἄρτι· οὐδεὶς γάρ σε ἐμποδίζει  
 Ϛ οὐκ ἐκτρώσει· μὴ φοβοῦ τὸ σύνολον  
 ζ δάνεισον ἐπὶ ὑποθήκῃ καὶ οὐκ ἀπολέσεις  
 η οὐ πωλήσεις τὸν φόρτον· μὴ σπεῦδε  
 θ ἀπολυθήσῃ τῆς συνοχῆς ἐξ ἀνελπίστων  
 ι μὴ λάβῃς ἣν θέλεις γυναῖκα· συμφέρει γάρ σοι

## δεκάς οθ'

- α οὐ συμφέρει σοι συναλλάξαι  
 β ἀποδημήσεις ἑξαπίνης καὶ μακράν  
 γ οὐ προκόψεις ἄρτι. ἐμποδίξῃ γάρ  
 δ καλῶς κοινωνήσεις καὶ εὐχαριστήσεις  
 ε στρατεύσῃ καὶ ταχὺ προκόψεις ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον  
 ς ἐπερώτησον ὥρα ς' καὶ ἀκούσῃ τὴν ἀλήθειαν  
 ζ πλεύσεις μετὰ τὸ ἐκκοπῆναι καὶ καλῶς  
 η ἀπολυθήσεται ὁ συνεχόμενος μετὰ κόπου  
 θ ἀπαλλαγῇ τῆς φίλης ταχέως  
 ι γενήσῃ ἐπίσκοπος πλὴν βραδέως

## δεκάς π'

- μενεῖς ὅπου ὑπάγεις  
 β οὐ λήψῃ ὀψώνιον. μὴ προσδόκα  
 γ ἀπολήψῃ τὴν παρακαταθήκην ὀλόκληρον  
 δ γαμήσεις τὴν φίλην  
 ε θὲς παραβόλιον· νικήσεις γάρ  
 ς ἕξεις ἐλπίδα πίστεως καὶ πάνυ καλήν  
 ζ ἐπιτεύξῃ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως ταχέως  
 η οὐκ ἀποκατασταθήσῃ κληρικός. ἄλλο τι πράττε  
 θ οὐ στρατηγήσεις ἄρτι. μὴ προσδόκα  
 ι ἕξεις θάνατον ἰδεῖν ἐπιζήμιον

## δεκάς πα'

- α ἀπαλλαγῇ τῆς γυναικός  
 β οὐ λήσεται σου ὁ δρασμός. ἄρτι ἐμπίπτεις  
 γ γενήσῃ βουλευτῆς βραδέως, ζημιωθήσῃ δέ  
 δ πρεσβεύσεις μόνος καὶ οὐ συμφέρει σοι  
 ε οὐ φνυγαδευθήσῃ. μὴ φοβοῦ. μακροθύμησον  
 ς γενήσῃ βιοπράγος καὶ κτήσῃ πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ  
 ζ ἀγοράσεις ὃ ἐνθυμῇ καὶ μεταπωλήσεις αὐτό  
 η οὐχ εὐρήσεις πωλῆσαι ὥς θέλεις  
 θ προσγραφῇσεται τὰ σὰ ἄρτι. φρόντιζε  
 ι οὐ κερδανεῖς ὅλως ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος

## δεκάς πβ'

- α μὴ κοινωνήσῃς. οὐ συμφέρει σοι  
 β στρατεύσῃ οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸ συμφέρον  
 γ \* \*  
 δ πλεύσεις ἀπροσδοκίτως καὶ καλῶς  
 ε οὐκ ἀπολυθήσεται ὁ συνεχόμενος

- 5 οὐκ ἀπαλλαγῆσθαι τῆς φίλης διὰ πολλοῦ  
 ζ ἐπισκοπήσεις πολλά ἀγωνισάμενος  
 η οὐ καταληφθήσῃ ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ. μὴ φοβοῦ  
 θ ἀγοράσεις χωρίον μετὰ καμάτου  
 ι οὐ παραμενεῖς πρεσβύτερος

## δεκάς πγ'

- α οὐκ ἀπολυθήσῃ τῆς συνοχῆς  
 β λήψῃ ἣν θέλεις γυναῖκα καὶ ἔσῃ κύριος  
 γ σωθήσεται τῆς ἀσθενείας ταχέως, εἰ προσέχεις  
 δ οὐ σωθήσῃ τῆς συκοφαντίας πολλά ἰσχύσας  
 ε οὐ κληρονομήσεις τὴν γυναῖκα. ἐτέρῳ δέδοται  
 5 εἰ ἂν εἴπῃς τὴν δίκην ἄρτι, νικήσεις  
 ζ παραμενεῖ σοι ὀλίγα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων  
 η λήψῃ τὴν φερνὴν καὶ σκορπίσεις αὐτήν  
 θ οὐ κληρονομήσεις τοὺς γονεῖς. ἐτέρῳ δέδοται  
 ι οὐ τεκνώσεις ἄρτι. περιμένουν

## δεκάς πδ'

- α οὐχ ἔξεις ὠφέλειαν ἀπὸ τοῦ φίλου σου  
 β πωληθήσῃ καὶ καλῶς σοι ἔσται παρ' οἷς πραθήσῃ  
 γ οὐ μενεῖς ὅπου ὑπάγεις· οὐ γὰρ φθάνεις  
 δ οὐ λήψῃ ὀψώνιον ἄρτι  
 ε ἀπολήψῃ τὴν παρακαταθήκην ὀλόκληρον  
 5 γαμήσεις τὴν φίλην καὶ οὐ παραμενεῖ σοι  
 ζ μὴ θῆς παραβόλιον· νικηθήσῃ γάρ  
 η ἔξεις ἐλπίδα πίστεως καλὴν  
 θ ἐπιτεύξῃ ἐπικλήσεως, ἥς ποθεῖς  
 ι κατασταθήσῃ κληρικὸς βραδέως

## δεκάς πε'

- α προσγραφῆσεται τὰ σά  
 β κερδανεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος ὀλίγον  
 γ ζῇ ὁ ἀπόδημος καὶ ἔρχεται  
 δ λήψῃ τὸ ἀργύριον κατὰ μέρος  
 ε λήψῃ κομητάτον  
 5 ἀποκαταστήσῃ εἰς τὸν τόπον σου ταχέως  
 ζ συναλλάξεις ἐτέρῳ καὶ κερδανεῖς πολὺ  
 η οὐχ ἔξεις ὠφέλειαν ἀπὸ τοῦ φίλου σου  
 θ πωληθήσῃ καὶ οὐκ ἐλευθερωθήσῃ  
 ι μενεῖς ὅπου ὑπάγεις

## δεκάς πς'

- α μὴ δανείσης· οὐ γὰρ συμφέρει  
 β πωλήσεις τὸν φόρτον ταχέως  
 γ οὐκ ἀπολυθήσῃ τῆς συνοχῆς ἄρτι  
 δ λήψῃ κόπῳ ἢν θέλεις γυναικα  
 ε ὁ ἀσθενῶν μακρονοσήσας ὑγιανεῖ  
 ς σωθήσῃ τῆς συκοφαντίας, ἐὰν προσέχῃς  
 ζ κληρονομήσεις τὴν γυναικα, οὐ μόνος δέ  
 η νικήσεις τὴν δίκην, ἐὰν κάμῃς, μέχρι τέλους  
 θ οὐ παραμενεῖ σοι πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα  
 ι λήψῃ τὴν φερνὴν μετὰ μάχης

## δεκάς πζ'

- α οὐχ εὐρήσεις πωλῆσαι τὰ σά  
 β οὐ προσγραφήσεται τὰ σά. μὴ φρόντιζε  
 γ οὐ κερδανεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος τὸ σύνολον  
 δ οὐ ζῇ ὁ ἀπόδημος. μὴ προσδέχου αὐτόν  
 ε λήψῃ τὸ ἀργύριον κατὰ μέρος  
 ς οὐ λήψῃ ἄρτι κομητάτον, ἐκδέχου δέ  
 ζ ἀποκατασταθήσῃ εἰς τὸν τόπον σου μετὰ χαρᾶς  
 η εἰ συναλλάξεις ἐτέρῳ, βλαβήσῃ πολὺ  
 θ ἔξεις ὠφέλειαν πολλήν ἀπὸ τοῦ φίλου σου  
 ι οὐ πωληθήσῃ ἀλλ' ἐλευθερωθήσῃ

## δεκάς πη'

- προκόψεις καλῶς  
 β μὴ κοινώνει. οὐ συμφέρει σοι  
 γ στρατεύσῃ καὶ προκόψεις ταχέως  
 δ [ἐργάσῃ φθονούμενος ὑπὸ πλειόνων]<sup>1</sup>  
 ε [ὁψὲ τελεσθήσεται ὁ γάμος δι' ἀνάγκης]<sup>1</sup>  
 ς ὁ συνεχόμενος ἀπολυθήσεται  
 ζ ἀπαλλαγῇ τῆς φίλης σου ἐπὶ ζημία  
 η γενήσῃ ἐπίσκοπος, ἄρτι δὲ οὐ. περίμεινον μικρόν  
 θ καταληφθήσῃ μοιχὸς ἄρτι. πρόσεχε  
 ι οὐκ ἀγοράσεις χωρίον ἢ οἰκίαν

## δεκάς πθ'

- α γενήσῃ δεκάπρωτος  
 β ἔξεις τὴν πατρίδα ἰδεῖν καὶ χαρήσῃ  
 γ ἀπαρτίσεις ὁ ἐπιβάλλῃ  
 δ λήψῃ λεγάτον πολὺ, ἐὰν προσέχῃς  
 ε πεφαρμάκευσαι ἀληθῶς. σεαυτῷ βοήθει

<sup>1</sup> Misplaced answers.

- 5 οὐκ ἀπαλλαγῆση τῆς γυναικὸς καλῶς  
 ζ λήσεται σου ὁ δρασμὸς ἕως χρόνου  
 η γενήσῃ βουλευτὴς καὶ ὠφεληθήσῃ πλουτήσας  
 θ πρεσβεύσεις καὶ ἐπιτεύξῃ ἐν τῷ πράγματι  
 ι φυγαδευθήσῃ

## δεκάς ρ'

- α γαμήσεις τὴν φίλῃν ἄρτι  
 β θεὸς παραβόλῳ· νικήσεις γάρ  
 γ οὐχ ἕξεις ἐλπίδα πίστεως τὸ σύνολον  
 δ ἐπιτεύξῃ ἐπικλήσεως ἥσπερ ἡὔξω  
 ε κατασταθήσῃ κληρικὸς καὶ γενήσῃ λοιμός  
 5 στρατηγήσεις καὶ εὐημερήσεις ἕως τέλους  
 ζ ὄψει θάνατον οἰκείου ταχέως. ἀλλὰ μακροθύμει  
 η νικήσεις. μὴ ἀγωνία  
 θ κληρονομήσεις καὶ ζημιωθήσῃ πολὺ  
 ι εἰς μισθώση, βλαβήσῃ πολὺ

## δεκάς ρα'

- α ἀποδημῆσαι ἕξεις ἄρτι  
 β οὐ προκόψεις νῦν. μὴ φαντάξου  
 γ μὴ κοινῶναι. οὐ συμφέρει σοι. ζημιωθήσῃ  
 δ στρατεύσῃ καὶ πολὺ βλαβήσῃ  
 ε \* \*  
 5 πλεύσεις μετὰ κινδύνου, ἀλλὰ θάρρει  
 ζ ὁ συνεχόμενος ἀπολυθήσεται χρόνῳ  
 η ἀπαλλαγῆσῃ τῆς φίλης καὶ βλαβήσῃ  
 θ γενήσῃ ἐπίσκοπος βραδέως  
 ι οὐ καταληφθήσῃ μοιχός. μὴ ἀγωνία

## δεκάς ρβ'

- α συνάλλαξον· ὠφεληθήσῃ γάρ  
 β εἰς ἀποδημῆσιν, βλαβήσῃ  
 γ προκόψεις καθὼς ἡὔξω  
 δ οὐ συμφέρει σοι κοινωνεῖν  
 ε οὐ στρατεύσῃ. μὴ προσδόκα  
 5 μετὰ φόβου ἐρώτησον καὶ ἀκούσῃ τὴν ἀλήθειαν  
 ζ πλεύσεις, ἄρτι δὲ οὐ  
 η κινδυνεύει ὁ συνεχόμενος καὶ τελευτήσῃ  
 θ οὐκ ἀπαλλαγῆσῃ τῆς φίλης σου  
 ι οὐχ ἕξεις ἐπισκοπῆσαι. μὴ προσδόκα

## δεκάς γγ'

- οὐκ ἀποδημήσεις νῦν  
 β προκόψεις ἐξαπίνης ὅτε οὐκ οἶδας  
 γ κοινωνήσεις ἐπὶ βλάβῃ  
 δ οὐ στρατεύσῃ ἄρτι. τί σπεύδεις;  
 ε εἰ πιστῶς ἐρωτᾷς, ἐρώτησον  
 ς πλεύσεις μετὰ τὸ ἐγκοπῆναι καὶ συμφέρει σοι  
 ζ ὁ συνεχόμενος ἀπολυθήσεται  
 η ἀπαλλαγὴς τῆς φίλης καὶ μεταμεληθήσῃ  
 θ γενήσῃ ἐπίσκοπος, βραδέως δέ  
 ι οὐ καταληφθήσῃ μοιχὸς ἄρτι, ὕστερον δέ

## δεκάς ρδ'

- α οὐ πωλήσεις τὸν φόρτον ἄρτι  
 β ἀπολυθήσῃ τῆς συνοχῆς  
 γ οὐ λήψῃ ἢν θέλεις γυναῖκα  
 δ σωθήσεται τῆς ἀσθενείας ταχέως  
 ε οὐ σωθήσῃ τῆς συκοφαντίας. μερίμνα  
 ς κληρονομήσεις τὴν γυναῖκα  
 ζ εἰπὲ τὴν δίκην· νικήσεις γάρ  
 η παραμενεῖ σοι τὰ ὑπάρχοντα  
 θ λήψῃ τὴν φερνὴν κατὰ μέρος  
 ι οὐ κληρονομήσεις τοὺς γονεῖς· προτελευτήσεις γάρ

## δεκάς ρε'

- θές παραβόλιον· νικήσεις γάρ  
 β ἕξεις ἐλπίδα πίστεως  
 γ ἐπιτεύξῃ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως  
 δ κατασταθήσῃ κληρικὸς μετὰ χρόνον μακρόν  
 ε οὐ συμφέρει σοι στρατηγῆσαι  
 ς οὐκ ὄψῃ ἄρτι θάνατον  
 ζ οὐ νικήσεις. σιώπα  
 η κληρονομήσεις, ἀλλ' οὐ μόνος  
 θ εἰς μισθώσῃ, βλαβήσῃ  
 ι οἰκονομήσεις πιστευθεὶς καὶ δοξασθήσῃ

## δεκάς ρς'

- α οὐ κληρονομήσεις τὸν φίλον  
 β οὐχ ἕξεις ἐσχάτην καλὴν. σεαυτῷ βοήθει  
 γ εὐρήσεις τὸν φυγόντα εὐθέως. μὴ λυποῦ  
 δ οὐχ ἕξεις ἄρξαι νῦν. τί προσδοκᾷς;  
 ε κληρονομήσεις τὴν μητέρα, οὐ μόνος δέ  
 ς οὐ κληρονομήσεις τὸν πατέρα μόνος  
 ζ ἐλευθερωθήσῃ βραδέως. ἀλλὰ μὴ λυποῦ



- η οὐχ ὑβρισθήσῃ. μὴ ἀγωνία, ἀλλὰ θάρρει  
 θ οὐ ζήσεται τὸ γεννώμενον, ἀλλὰ τελευτήσει  
 ι σωθήσῃ τῆς κατηγορίας μετὰ ὀλίγον

## δεκάς ρζ'

- α εὐτυχήσεις ἱλαρῶς  
 β μὴ συναλλάξῃς ἄρτι. περίμεινον  
 γ οὐκ ἀποδημήσεις ταχέως· ἐπέχει γάρ  
 δ προκόψεις καὶ εὐτυχήσεις ταχέως  
 ε κοινωνήσεις καὶ οὐ συμφέρει σοι· ζημιωθήσῃ γάρ  
 ς στρατεύσῃ νῦν καὶ ὠφεληθήσῃ πολὺ  
 ζ ἐπιβαλοῦ μετὰ καθαροῦ τοῦ συνειδότητος  
 η πλεύσεις μετὰ τὸ ἐγκοπῆναι  
 θ ὁ συνεχόμενος νῦν ἀπολυθήσεται τῆς συνοχῆς  
 ι ἀπαλλαγῇ τῆς φιλῆς. μωροποιεῖ. συμφέρει σοι

## δεκάς ρη'

- α κοινωνήσεις καὶ βλαβήσῃ  
 β οὐ στρατεύσῃ νῦν. περίμεινον  
 γ οὐκ ἔστιν ὥρα τοῦ ἐπιβαλέσθαι  
 δ οὐ πλεύσεις νῦν· οὐ γὰρ ἔτοιμος εἶ  
 ε οὐκ ἀπολυθήσεται ὁ συνεχόμενος  
 ς οὐκ ἀπαλλαγῇ τῆς φιλῆς  
 ζ γενήσῃ ἐπίσκοπος, ἐὰν ἀγαπήσῃς τὸν κλῆρον  
 η καταληφθήσῃ μοιχὸς βράδιον, ἀλλὰ σωθήσῃ  
 θ ἀγοράσεις κτῆμα ἢ οἰκίαν ἐξ ἰδίων κόπων  
 ι παραμενεῖς πρεσβύτερος ἕως θανάτου

## δεκάς ρθ'

- α οὐκ ἀνοίξεις ἐργαστήριον  
 β οὐ σωθήσῃ ἀσθενῶν  
 γ σοφιστεύσεις ἐξαπίνης καὶ δοξασθήσῃ  
 δ εὐρήσεις τὸ ἀπολόμενον βραδέως  
 ε ἀγορανομήσεις, ἄρτι δὲ οὐ  
 ς οὐ κληρονομήσεις τὸν φίλον  
 ζ οὐχ ἔξεις ἐσχάτην καλὴν, ἀλλὰ πονηράν  
 η οὐχ εὐρήσεις τὸν φυγόντα  
 θ οὐκ ἄρξεις νῦν ὧν ἐπιθυμεῖς. μὴ προσδόκα  
 ι οὐ κληρονομήσεις τὴν μητέρα. μὴ ἔλπιζε

## δεκάς ρ'

- α οὐ λήψῃ τὴν φερνήν  
 β οὐ κληρονομήσεις τοὺς γονεῖς· προτελευτήσεις γάρ  
 γ τεκνώσεις, ἄρτι δὲ οὐ. περίμεινον

δ οὐ καταλλαγῇσιν τοῖς κυρίοις σου ἐπὶ συμφέροντι  
 ε ἐπιτεύξῃ γραμμάτων ὧν χρηζῇς  
 ς οὐχ ἕξεις χρόνον ζωῆς  
 ζ ἀνοίξεις ἐργαστήριον ἐξαπίνης  
 η σωθήσῃ ἀσθενῶν. μὴ ἀγωνία  
 θ σοφιστεύσεις ἐν τιμῇ πολλῇ  
 ι οὐχ εὐρήσεις τὸ ἀπολούμενόν ποτε

## δεκάς ρα'

α ἐπιβαλοῦ ὥρα γ', ἀπαξ δέ  
 β πλεύσεις, ἀλλ' ἐγκοπήσῃ τῷ πράγματι  
 γ στρατεύσῃ καὶ μεταμεληθήσῃ πολύ  
 δ κοινωνήσεις καὶ ζημιωθήσῃ πολύ  
 ε οὐ δυνήσῃ προκοῦσαι ἄρτι. ἐμποδίξῃ γάρ  
 ς ἀποδημήσεις ὅπου θέλεις ἐπὶ καλῷ σου  
 ζ μὴ συναλλάξῃς, ἐπεὶ βλαβήσῃ πολύ  
 η εὐτυχῇσιν ἐκ κόπων πολλῶν καὶ κακῶν  
 θ ἀγοράσεις τὸ προκείμενον  
 ι οὐ γαμήσεις ἄρτι. περίμεινον

## δεκάς ρβ'

α σωθήσῃ τῆς κατηγορίας ἄρτι  
 β δώσεις ἄρτι τοὺς λόγους σου ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ  
 γ οὐκ ἐλεύσεται ὁ ἀπόδημος. ἐπόθησε γὰρ γυναῖκα  
 δ οὐκ ἀποδώσεις ἄρτι ἂ ὀφείλεις  
 ε δάνεισαι καὶ οὐ ζημιωθήσῃ, κερδανείς δέ  
 ς τέξεται, ἀλλ' ἀχρηστον ἔσται τὸ γεννώμενον  
 ζ οὐ κινήσῃ τοῦ τόπου σου. μὴ ἀγωνία  
 η ἕξεις ὀλίγον βλαβῆναι. μὴ λυποῦ  
 θ γαμήσεις καὶ λυπηθήσῃ μεταμεληθεῖς  
 ι οὐκ ἀγοράσεις τὸ προκείμενον, ἐπεὶ μὴ εὐπορεῖς

## δεκάς ργ'

α [οὐ καθίστασαι κληρικός]<sup>1</sup>  
 β οὐ γενήσῃ ἐπίσκοπος. μὴ περίμενε  
 γ εὐρεθήσῃ μοιχὸς μετ' οὐ πολὺ  
 δ οὐκ ἀγοράσεις χωρίον ἢ οἰκίαν  
 ε οὐ παραμενεῖς πρεσβύτερος  
 ς παραμενεῖ σοι ἡ γυνή. σωφρονεῖ γάρ  
 ζ ἀπαλλαγῇσιν τοῦ κλήρου ἐν τάχει  
 η γενήσῃ δεκάπρωτος καὶ εὐδοκμήσεις  
 θ οὐ βλέψεις τὴν πατρίδα  
 ι [ἀπαλλάσῃ τῆς γυναικὸς ἄρτι]<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Misplaced answers.

## APPENDIX D.

### *The Sortes Sangallenses.*

These Sortes were deciphered by Winnefeld from a palimpsest at St Gall of the sixth century, and published by him in a tract entitled *Sortes Sangallenses*<sup>1</sup>.

The frequent parallels with the language, questions and answers of the system of Astrampsyclus should be noted, as for example, 'Shall I take a partner?' is evidently the question which underlies St Gall ii. 1 'non tibi expedit habere consortium,' and answers to the Greek ιε' of Astrampsyclus,

εἰ κοινωνήσω τῷ πράγματι.

The question is not one which we should expect to turn up independently in two systems.

So when we find in St Gall iii. 1 and 2 the sentences

iii 1 non poteris in expeditionem ire; caue

iii 2 expedit tibi, ut habeas consortium

the sequence of the answers, as well as their content, is exactly that of the 3rd and 4th questions of Astrampsyclus

[ιδ'] εἰ στρατεύσομαι

[ιε'] εἰ κοινωνήσω τῷ πράγματι,

to which the following are typical answers:

στρατεύση καὶ ταχὺ προκόψει

οὐ συμφέρει σοι κοινωνῆσαι· ζήμιωθήση γάρ.

It cannot be an accident that these unlikely questions occur and are adjacent in the two systems.

<sup>1</sup> Bonnae, ap. Max. Cohen et fil. 1887.

In the same way, the office-seeker who wishes to be assured of his election or appointment to some position of dignity or trust, enquires in the St Gall system whether he will become a *decemprimus*, *curialis*, *praetor*, *praetor urbanus*, *aedilis*, of which the third and fourth are probably identical, and in the system of Astrampsychus we have enquiries as to the offices of *δεκάπρωτος* and *βιοπάγος*, together with Christian offices *κληρικός*, *ἐπίσκοπος* and *πρεσβύτερος*, which belong to a working-over of the Sortes in question after they have passed into Christian hands. The coincidence in the desire to be made a *decemprimus* is remarkable, and implies community of ultimate origin in the Sortes discussed. The curious disappearance of the other titles, and their probable replacement by ecclesiastical titles, show that the offices were already extinct or not coveted. Winnefeld points out that by the times of Septimius Severus and Caracalla the office of aedile had lapsed, and the office of curialis had undergone such changes that it had ceased to be an honour. We are thus obliged to regard the original system of Sortes as early: Winnefeld suggests that it is as early as A.D. 200. The extant Latin system, as we pointed out, is of the sixth century. It is curious to note that the one office that survives is that of *decemprimus*. We must not assume from the name of the office in question, that the system was originally Latin; for here also the traces of a previous Greek system are to be found. When, for example, we find such an expression as

agoniari plus noli

and find the constant parallel in Astrampsychus

μὴ ἀγωνία

we must regard the Greek as the original.

However, here is the system of Winnefeld, which is to be compared with that of Astrampsychus, as printed above, whenever, as frequently happens, they overlap.

### *Sortes Sangallenses.*

(I)

(*desunt quattuor responsa et dimidium.*)

uera et bona .lot . . .

VI      in nullo t[e la]c[erat nec te] deridet.

VII     hunc annum [multum gaudebi]s; habe]bis enim [fructus bonos.]

VIII	.....
[VIII]	..... s non   .....
[X]	..... sed mox   .....   obtinebis
[XI]	quid prom ..... religiosus   et aliut ..... cogitas.
[XII]	..... les sed deum   ..... posturam.

## (II)

I	non tibi [expedit habere] consortium.
[II]	accipies pr[omissum tuum et] multum   gratulaueris.
III	in multo(s) gloriaris.
IIII	quid urges facere testamentum,   cum domino iuuante uita bona tibi resta[t]?
V	uisum utilem non est, sed caue   ne incurras inimicorum insidias.
VI	sine causa laboras, nam non   optines per libellum.
VII	male lacerat amicus de te.
VIII	expedit tibi ut accipias quod desi deras, quia toto animo in te pendit.
VIIII	hunc annu fructi miserrimi sunt;   caue ne inopiam patiaris.
X	ubi uades, paenitebis te.
XI	noli ire, quia non suscipieris.
XII	cum gaudio optinebis quod desideras.

## (III)

I	non poteris in expeditionem   ire; caue.
II	expedit tibi, ut habeas consortium.
III	accipies promissum, sed cum gaudio.
IIII	in nullo gloriaris; caue.
V	tempus tibi proximum est; fac tes tamentum ita, ut seruos tuos liberos dimittas.
VI	uisa fantasmatae sunt.
VII	tardum erit, ut per libellum   optineas.
VIII	quid ueris? de quo suspicaris,   non te lacerat, sed magis bonum   testimonium de te reddet.
VIIII	quam uis, cons(t)entit tibi   toto animo.
X	hoc anno fructus bonus tibi   significatur.
XI	si eris diu, ubi constabis.
XII	animo te suscipit amicus.

## (IIII)

I	procede ad publicum feliciter.
II	uade in expeditionem feliciter;   uictor uenies.
III	habeto consortium et multum   lucraris.
IIII	si neglegens non fueris, accipies   promissum a quo uis.
V	durum est, ut glorieris.

- VI quid tam cito uis facere testamentu[m], | cum domino iuuante  
uita habebis bona?
- VII obserua istum uisum, ne forte | in laqueo incidas.
- VIII tardum erit, ut obtineas per | libellum; melius est, ut conponas.
- VIII sed quid tam uerbosus uel in|portunus amicum? quem diligis |  
in absenti te lacerat.
- X quem uis, finget tibi; nam multis | se promittit. recede inde  
morio.||
- XI hunc annum fructi rari nascuntur | et tempus laboriosum  
significat.
- XII in quo uadis, non constas ibi.

## (V)

- I noli illi donare, qui non est | obsequens tibi.
- II noli ad publicum praecedere, | ne forte paenitearis.
- III non tibi expedit in expeditionem | ire, ne captus interficiaris.
- III habeto consortium et multum | lucraris.
- V accipe promissum; quare tristaris?
- VI in bono gloriaris feliciter.
- VII succurre tibi et citius fac tes|tamentum, quia mors tibi superest.
- VIII uera sunt uisa; obserua ne in ali|quo damno incurras.
- VIII si non esses auarus, olim optinue|ras per libellum.
- X quem suspicaris, minas facit et mul|tum lacerat; cautus esto  
ab illo.
- XI non tibi consentit, quem uis.
- XII hunc annum boni fructi sunt ||et multum gaudeuis.

## (VI)

- I finget tibi promittendo, nam non do[nabit].
- II donat quae expedit tibi ut gratiam hab[eas].
- III non est quod uerearis; procede in publ[icum].
- III uade feliciter in expeditione, quia | tua est uictoria.
- V non tibi expedit habere consortium, | quia finget tibi et de  
fraude cogitat.
- VI aliquantum promittit, sed plus | mentitur tibi.
- VII si forte b . . . os eris, ne forte captus | pae[nit]earis; si taceas,  
poteris gloriari[i].
- VIII adhuc tibi uita debetur; quare | uis facere testamentum?
- VIII uisa uera sunt et lucrabis.
- X obtinebis, sed per patronum | quod uis per libellum.
- XI in absenti multum lacerat, | de quo consulis.
- XII in multum tibi consentit | et obsequens est.

## (VII)

- I circumuenit te, ut te expoliet; || nam non te adfiliabit; uade tibi fatuae.
- II manifeste tibi donat; sed tu illi | obsequens esto.
- III deo serua fidem et quod promisi|ti dona; expedit tibi.
- IIII procede feliciter ad publicum | et cum lucro redies.
- V moneo te, ne uadas ad expeditionem.
- VI expedit tibi, ut consortium habeas, | ubi fides est et multum lucraris.
- VII noli neglegens esse et accipies | promissum.
- VIII obserua, uerbose, quid sic flagites, | ne incautus pericliteris ad mortem.
- VIIII fac testamentum ita, ut pauperibus | dimittas et anima tua deo commendes.
- X magnum uisum uidisti; ut scias, | honorem cum hereditatem | tibi significat.
- XI non obtinebis per libellum.
- XII quem suspicaris, non te lacerat | sed bonum de te dicit.

## (VIII)

- I fideliter tibi obsequitur.||
- II si obsequens illi fueris, adfiliab[it] | te et eris dominus.
- III promissum suum complet; noli ue[r]eri, quia donauit. esto securus.
- IIII qui tibi obsecundatur, dona illi | et bene facies.
- V non tibi expedit, ut ad publicum | procedas.
- VI uade feliciter in expeditionem | et uictor uenis cum lucris tuis.
- VII tolle te inde et noli habere con|sortium, quia inpostor est.
- VIII satage et accipies promissum.
- VIIII si taces, in multo gratulaueris.
- X quare facies testamentum, | dum bona uita habeas?
- XI non utilem uisum uidisti; obser|ua hora mala.
- XII quid cogitas tantum? iubante deo | optinebis, quod uis per libellum.

## (VIII)

- I noli appellare, ne incadas.
- II fideliter tibi obsequitur.
- III toto animo te adfiliavit.||
- IIII finget tibi in promittendo; nam | non est donat[urus].
- V noli donare, quia superbus est et ingratus.
- VI procede ad publicum feliciter.
- VII festina ad expeditionem, quia in uic|toria felicissimus eris.

- VIII habeto consortium ; expedit enim | tibi et multum lucrabis.  
 VIII noli uereri ; accipies promissum.  
 X iubante domino in magno honore gloriaueris.  
 XI roga dominum, ut tibi uita concedat ; | fac testamentum ita ut  
 an . . . m . . . . es | tuos legatorios dimittas.  
 XII uisum [utilem uidisti : unde non] | speras lucrauis.

## (X)

- I timendum est, ne condemneris.  
 II appella, quia expedit tibi et ob|tinebis quod uis.  
 III noli illi credere, quia non tibi | fideliter obsequitur et male | de  
 te cogitat.  
 IIII fingit in promittendo ; nam non || te adfliabit.||  
*(desunt octo responsa dodecadis X, nouem totae dodecades, quattuor  
 responsa dodecadis XI.)*

## (XI)

- V non uidebis mortem inimici, quia dae[mon]es [ill]um custodiunt  
 quos colit[us].  
 VI adhuc magno tempore uiues.  
 VII non habes tempora uitae longa ; | uiuis itaque d . . . . uis.  
 VIII quidem consulis de . m ; citius | moriturus es ; ora dominum.  
 VIII . . . . . eger.  
 X . . . . . na | . . . . . mam deo.  
 XI non condemnaris in appellatione.  
 XII appella, quia expedit tibi et ob|tinebis quod uis.

## (XII)

- I noli fidem seruare, ne te peniteat, | quia lederis.  
 II habebis occasionem [ut interficias | inim]icum tuum.  
 III aude celerius et circumuenies, | de quo cogitas.  
 IIII succurre tibi, quia aduersarius | circa te egit.  
 V si praemium promiseris, inuenies | quod quaeris, sed de quo  
 suspectus es[s], || non est conscius.  
 VI uidebis mortem inimici primam.  
 VII non magno tempore uiuis.  
 VIII habebis uitae tempora, sed non | in longo tempore.  
 VIII in dei nomine diu uibis ; esto securus.  
 X obserua, ne forte circumuentus in|crimineris et multum paeni-  
 tearis.  
 XI noli dimittere persona, de qua soniaris.  
 XII in dubio erit condemnatio(r).



## (XIII)

- I habebis fidem, sed semper in dubio est.  
 II noli fidem frangere, ne te paeniteat.  
 III moneo, ne male facias inimico tuo, | quia nihil est.  
 IIII non poteris hominem circum|uenire; tolle te.  
 V caue, quia aduersarius contra te egit.  
 VI in quo suspicaris, innocens est; | quare tibi fidem praestat?  
 VII in celerius uidebis mortem | inimici tui. quid times?  
 VIII multum tempus uiuendi interest.  
 VIII habebis tempora uitae. ||

*(desunt tria responsa dodecadis XIII, quattuor totae dodecades,  
 quinque et dimidium responsa dodecadis XIII.)*

## (XIII)

- et licet exiguum spem habeas, sed | multas fides habes.  
 VII serua fidem, expedit enim tibi.  
 VIII quare minaris inimico, qui(a) tibi | inter mortuos mortuus est?  
 VIII si celerius ieris, mox illum circum|uenies et de ipso lucrauis.  
 X uide quid agas, quia aduersarius | contra te egit. obserua ne  
 capiaris.  
 XI quare facile innocentem inci|minas, cum non sit conscius?  
 XII in dubio erit, sed non morietur | inimicus tuus.

## (XV)

- I grande tumultum hoc anno in populo.  
 II noli uereri, quia tristitiam, | quam pateris, in dei nomine.  
 unde non | speras, multum lucrabis.  
 III caue inimici persecutionem.  
 IIII expedit fidem praestare.  
 V obserua, ne tibi fidem frangat | nuptiarum.  
 VI fidem tibi seruat amicus.  
 VII habebis spem fidei, licet non creda[s]. ||  
 VIII fidem serua, ne te paeniteat.  
 VIII si adire uolueris iudicia, mox | mox interficies inimicum tuum.  
 X tolle te, quia non poteris circum|uenire, ne captus puniaris.  
 XI caue, quia aduersus te explicuit | aduersarius.  
 XII de quo consulis, manifeste cons|cius est, et alicui prosunt.

## (XVI)

- I quidquid finges, eueniet, | quia sic natus es(t).  
 II hunc annum in populo salus saluuer|ima et annona bona  
 significatur.  
 III noli timere tristitiam.

- IIII noli uereri inimici persecuti|onem, quia nihil dominus fecit illum.  
 V facito illi satis, ut prestes illi fidem.  
 VI consilium mutant, ut fides tibi | frangatur.  
 VII noli male sentire de amico tuo, | qui tibi fidem seruat.  
 VIII habebis spem fidei, sed de desperato.  
 VIIII fidem serua, ne penitearis.

(*desunt responsa tria dodecadis XVI et plus undecim dodecades totae.*)

(XVII)

(*desunt octo responsa.*)

- VIIII [per]||iculum accusationis habebis.  
 X rat|iones non habebis iustas, | un||de noceri habes.  
 XI no[n] || derelinqueris; para te reddere | ra||tiones; aes facies rationem; et || lucraueris.  
 XII si|| . . licaueris, remoueris.

(XVIII)

- I co||nsules, an uincat; uincet necesse est.  
 II sa[l]|uus recedis a circumuentoribus.  
 III ma[e]||reris quidem, sed non habes | ca[l]|umniam; securus esto.  
 IIII lib|erabitur, sed per patronum.  
 V so||lueris de uinculis.  
 VI no||n accipies contumeliam.  
 VII ha||bes iniuriam pati; obserua te | a p||ersonas inimicales.  
 VIII in || accusatione eris et sumtus | n[o]||n modicus, sed uinces.  
 VIIII n[o]||n sine causa accusaris.  
 X ac|cusaris; succure tibi.  
 XI n||oceberis quodcumque coelpe||ris; itaque obserua te.||

(*desunt ultimum responsum dodecadis XVIII, primum dodecadis XVIII.*)

(XVIII)

- II . . . . . | et gra . . . .  
 III . . . . . | . . . . .  
 IIII . . . . . | . . . . .  
 V ora deum [ut liberetur de custodia,] | de quo me consulis.  
 VI prop . . . . .  
 VII accipies co[ntumeliam] . . . . .  
 VIII . . . . . | ris, non pote[ris]  
 VIIII exsuperas de acc[usatione] | sed . . . . .

- X sine de . . . . omniu . . . | habet causas . . . . | cusatus est  
sed . . .
- XI accusa . . . . . ||

(*desunt ultimum responsum dodecadis XVIII et tres dodecades.*)

(XX)

- I manumitteris, cum bene ser|uieris, sed cum controuersiam.
- II aput personam dominicam ac|ceptus non es(t).
- III peruinces crimina.
- IIII non poteris modo uincere.
- V habebis litem ; ut uincas eam deum ro[ga].
- VI uinces et aliam litem habebis.
- VII obserua calumniam, quam pateri[s].
- VIII suspectus es ; modo non calum|niaris ; aliud age.
- VIII expendat denarios et libera|tur de custodia.
- X demitteris et iterum alligaris.
- XI caue tibi, ne accipias contumeliam.
- XII per uerba iniuriam patieris.

(XXI)

- I non habebis hereditatem matris tu[ae].
- II per amicum et actum tuum | manumitteris cito.
- III licet irascaris, sed adrogans es ; | ideo acceptus non es.
- IIII crimen adinuenietur. ||
- V uinces et in plenius gaudeis.
- VI licet uinces litem per patronum | tarde, sed sumptibus fatigaris.
- VII non uinces ; sine causa laboras ; | cautus esto, quia et turbaberis.
- VIII noli timere ; leuis erit calumnia, | quam pateris.
- VIII tu tibi molestus es ; non calum|niaris in nullo.
- X ora deum, ut liberetur de custodia, | quia quomodo intellego  
periclitatur.
- XI dimitteris necesse est.
- XII contumeliam patieris, sed non | ualde senties.

(XXII)

- I patris hereditatem non habes.
- II eris heris, quia amaris a matre tua.
- III securus esto ; manumitteris et ha|bebis bonum fatum ; sed  
serua omnia.
- IIII persona dominica te adleuat, | sed non modo.
- V non uinces modo crimina.
- VI uinces sed cum magno labore.
- VII uinces quidem litem, quam habes, || sed sumptibus fatigaris.

- VIII uinces aduersarium paulo tardius.  
 VIIII noli uerere calumniam, quam pateri[s].  
 X s . . . . . es . . . . . tibi | . . . . . l . acturus est.  
 XI tarde . . . sr . . . . . ur de | [custo]dia, quem consulis.  
 XII non magno tempore uincula patieri[s] | hae[c].

## (XXIII)

- I . . . . . us sed fraude | . . . . . a esto t[ut]us.  
 II noli offendere patrem tuam, | et heres eris.  
 III alium heredem facit mater tua, | et litigaueris [multu]m.  
 IIII quid ad te? ma[numitter]is necesse est cum legato.  
 V cum sint accept . . . . . anti aput | personam domnicam, tu  
 dubitas?  
 VI crimen habes; noli timere, euades.  
 VII uinces quidem illum, quem uis, | sed tarde.  
 VIII non uinces modo litem, quam habe[s].  
 VIIII laborabis, sed non poteris uincer[e] ||  
 X noli timere; deus auertit mala tua | et calumniam, quam  
 pateris.  
 XI modo non timeas calumniam; | exsuperas in amicum.  
 XII liberabitur sine macula, de quo consulis.

## (XXIII)

- I multos habes et aduersarios.  
 II heres heris parentum; securus esto.  
 III tenebis hereditatem patris tui, | sed cum lite.  
 IIII amittis matris hereditatem | per homines malos.  
 V manumitteris necesse est; li|bertas tibi data est.  
 VI persona domnica nec amat te | nec odit te.  
 VII adinuenientur crimina.  
 VIII ad pactum uenies, nam non uinces.  
 VIIII uinces litem, sed tarde.  
 X et multum loqueris et non | uinces; modo conpscere.  
 XI non euades calumniam; caue tibi.  
 XII calumniam times; fatigaris, | sed noli tediare.

(desunt dodecades quattuor et quattuor responsa dodecadis XXV.)

## (XXV)

(uersus primus plane euanuit.)

- [V] eris h]eres amici tui.  
 [VI] accipie]s et litem habebis.  
 [VII] . . . heres parentibus. | . . . s non hereditaris modo | . . . ibus  
 non potes.

- [VIII] . . . . ur tibi pater tuus ; facito | [satis], ut sis heres.  
 [VIII] obtin]ebis matris hereditatem.  
 [X non man]umitteris modo.  
 [XI] . . . . esse potes circa ratio|[nem dom]nicam.  
 [XII euade]s crimina, quia uana sunt.

## (XXVI)

- [I non eris] modo magistratus nec aedilis.  
 [II habes l]egatum certum ; securus | [esto ; et q]uidem a duobus,  
 sed non | [ab eo que]m speras.  
 [III amicus] uenti animo te diligit ut de| . . . [n]oli negligens esse.  
 [IIII stat f]ides ; prode est tibi amicus | [tuus], et lucraris, quia  
 necesse | [est co]nsequaris aliquid ab amico.  
 [V amici] hereditatem obtinebis.||

(desunt septem responsa dodecadis XXVI, quattuor totae dodecades, octo  
 et dimidium responsa dodecadis XXVII.)

## (XXVII)

- amicus tuus ; nihil consequeris ab [illo].  
 X non possidebis amici tui heredit[atem].  
 XI cum lite magna heres eris.  
 XII solidam hereditatem habiturus e[s].||

## (XXVIII)

- I accipies quod promissum est.  
 II inmittis odium bono tuo.  
 III et cum factus fueris decemprimus | displiceb[it tibi et fati]-  
 gaberis.  
 IIII curialis esse de[si]der[as] . . . rias dif[ficile]st . . . quod potes.  
 V eris praetor et . . . mnes humanus ; | nam malos am . . . feliciter  
 euenient.  
 VI amicus tuus aedilem te facit.  
 VII magis[tr]ati ge[stis] ; assem non habes : | non tibi debetur honor  
 hic.  
 VIII agoniarum plus noli ; tenebis tua ; mul[tum] pugnaui, [ut] l[e-  
 gatum] tuum accipias.  
 VIIII amicus tuus s[incere te] diligit ; noli | post illum . . . . ere.  
 X non est tibi utilis amicus, nec aliquid | inde consequeris ; sine  
 causa erubescis.||

(desunt duo ultima responsa.)

## (XXVIII)

- I laboriosa tempora habuisti, | a modo meliora, habes quidem  
no|uissima bona, sed cum diuturno | et cum magno labore.
- II accipies, quod promissum est, ne|cesse est; et multum gratu-  
lauer[is].
- III societas incerta est et non stat fid[es].
- IIII eris decemprimus, sed tempore | interposito.
- V ualde agoniaris; curialis eris; securu[s].
- VI sine causa circa patronos praecurr[is] | quasi stultus; nam non  
eris praetor.
- VII per aliqua persona poteris | esse aedilis.
- VIII obserua res tuas; eris enim magis|tratus aut aedilis et dam-  
num patier[is].
- VIIII in fatis habes accipere sed non | tota legata.
- X amicus te in multum diligit, sed tu || circa eum neglegens es.
- XI licet multos amicos habes et ab eis tibi promittitur, sed ab  
amico nihil consequeris; nemo tibi prode est.
- XII amici hereditatem habebis sed | . . nd . . . e . litigabis. ||  
(desunt duae dodecades et quattuor responsa dodecadis XXX.)

## (XXX)

- V accipies promissum; suspectus | esse noli nec tristari.
- VI necesse est tibi socium habere.
- VII officiosum te esse oportet, | si uis decemprimus esse.
- VIII si uelis iam curialis esse; noli agoniar[i].
- VIIII luticarius es, dum nullo ualeat | ambitio tua; nam non eris  
pretor.
- X aeris aedilis et amicos multos habeb[is].
- XI non eris modo magistratus nec aedil[is].
- XII accipies legatium non totam.

## (XXXI)

- I et si fugeris, prenderis.
- II fugi; noli hic esse.
- III non fuges; noli uereri.
- IIII expedit discedere, quam nihil agas.
- V tempus obserba malum; nam | posterior, si uixeris, melior  
tibi | eueniet et bona nouissima ha|bebis et prode tibi erit.
- VI aliquantum promittit, sed plus | mentitur; noli omnia credere  
illi.
- VII non expedit tibi socium habere.
- VIII decemprimus esse poteris, || sed inpediris a persona.

- VIII interest an uelis ; nam curialis | esse potes, si uelles esse.  
 X tardum erit, ut sis pretor urbanus.  
 XI non eris aedilis.  
 XII [dam]num patieris, [se]d de magistr[at]u lucrum facis.

## (XXXII)

- I non [inueniris modo], s[ed] alio tem[p]ore ; [no]n [euade]s.  
 II si fug[eris], celabitur fuga tua.  
 III facile euades in fuga.  
 IIII fugere cogitas, [sed reue]r[teris].  
 V non expedit esse domo.  
 VI non habebis nouissima bona.  
 VII noli . . . . . [es]se et accipies promissum.  
 VIII socium . . . . . tte[re] expedit tibi.  
 VIIII difficile p . . . iases . . . . . bis in[stans] [decem]p[ri]m[u]s eris.  
 X licet in quam . . . . . s conueni[as], non eris c[u]r[iali]s ;  
     securus esto.  
 XI tardo erit, ut sis praetor urbanus.  
 XII aedilis modo non procedis.||

## (XXXIII)

- I quidem fugire uult, sed in itinere ca[pietur].  
 II non inueniris, noli suspicari.  
 III non celabitur fuga tua.  
 IIII fugire tibi non est datum.  
 V non fugit ; noli suspectus esse.  
 VI non poteris ibi uibere.  
 VII multum laborasti, sed poste[riorem] tempus meliorem tibi |  
     futurum significat.  
 VIII satag[e] . . . f . r . quod promissum est.  
 VIIII modo tibi . . . ē . . . societas.  
 X nominaueris, decemprimus eris.  
 XI eris curialis et honores insequeris.  
 XII iuuante domino eris praetor.

## (XXXIII)

- I fugitibus [modo cela]tu[r] su[peri]orib[us] | partibus, [sed re]uenit  
     tunc, qui fug[it], | cum necessitate magna pati coepe[rit].  
 II de quo consulis, fugire uult ; | custodi eum.  
 III in dubio est uenire.  
 IIII periclitaueris in fuga.  
 V non facis ullo loco.

- VI fugis ; necesse est et iterum reuerte[ris].||  
 VII cum litteris a forte.  
 VIIII laborasti, sed tempus posterior me[lior] est ; uarietatem temporis habebis.  
 VIII noli uereri ; accipies promissum tuum.  
 X non expedit socium habere.  
 XI eris decemprimis post aliquod | temporis ; modo non poteris.  
 XII eris c[u]rialis et multum laborabis ; | necesse est ex cursus fatorum.

## (XXXV)

- I non est ibi fugitibus, in quo suspicaris.  
 II non potes[t] latere, qui fugiuit ; aut inuenietur, aut siue reuertitur, sed tarde.  
 III uide quid agas, quia si fugerit, | non eum inuenies.  
 IIII derideris, nam modo inueniri non | poteris. aliut age.  
 V si fugeris, euadis pressura.  
 VI fugere tibi non expedit.  
 VII fugis sed non modo.  
 VIII non tam cito discedis.  
 VIIII bonum tempus tibi futurum significat.  
 X accipies promissum ; quare tris[tar]is ? sed non totum.||

*(desunt duo responsa dodecadis XXXV, duae totae dodecades, quinque responsa dodecadis XXXVI.)*

## (XXXVI)

- VI si fugerit, non inuenitur ; custodi eu[m].  
 VII non inueniris ; n[o][i] u]ere[ri].  
 VIIII si fugis, celabitur fuga tua.  
 VIII noli fugere ne [peric]litis.  
 X .....  
 XI non [expedit tibi d]iscedere.  
 XII t ..... rc . elios.

## (XXXVII)

- [I in quo suspectus es,] non ipse tulit.  
 [II] ..... le fatiga | ..... ite.

*(plane euanuerunt duo uersus.)*

..... enies | ..... p . g . ad . . | ..... eni . . . fugitib |  
 ..... niri po ..... t aut in fis | ..... fugiet |  
 ..... nus alio | ..... d . . . . .



- VIII si fu[gerit], non inueniet[ur]; custodi e[um].  
 VIIII non celatur fuga tua.  
 X si fugeris, [pren]d[eri]s.  
 XI non es fugiturus; noli soniari.||  
 XII non constas; discedis necesse est.

## (XXXVIII)

- I modo quidem euades ualetudinem.  
 II non ipse tulit; quare innocentem incriminas?  
 III per indicium res tuas inuenies.  
 IIII inuenitur, quod periit, sed cum detrimento, ut indicium promittas | et cum patientia et subtilitate quaeras.  
 V obserua, ne cum quaeris, captus penitearis.  
 VI sine causa suspicaris; non est tibi | fugitibus.  
 VII sollicitatus est, qui fugit; decipitur | ab eo et sic inuenietur cum detrimento et lite; nam mutauit regionem.  
 VIII de quo consulis, fidelissimus est; noli uereri, non fugit.  
 VIIII non inueniris modo.  
 X si cucurreris in certe capieris.  
 XI non es fugiturus; noli soniari.  
 XII noli fugere neque te confundere.

## (XXXVIII)

- I ac re uexaris, sed exsuperas.  
 II euades ualetudinem; quid times?  
 III in quo suspectus es, ipse tulit.||

*(desunt nouem responsa dodecadis XXXVIII, quattuor totae dodecades, duo et dimidium responsa dodecadis XL.)*

## (XL)

- sed non eris plenus iuris studios[us].  
 IIII stude, ut homo esse possis, non or[ator].  
 V dubium est, de quo consulis; ora d[eum].  
 VI exsuperas, sed diu infirmaris; | non liberaris infirmitate ins | adhuc n . . men.  
 VII ut careas ualetudinem, medicum | adhibe et ora deum.  
 VIII in quem suspicaris, manifeste ipse [tulit].  
 VIIII [inuenies re]s tuas, quas perdidis[ti].  
 X quod perdis, reperibis; aliut time.  
 XI quid defatigas? nihil ibi inuenies.  
 XII in quo suspicaris, ibi celatur fugiti[uus].

## (XLI)

- I habebis litem, sed nihil est.  
 II agita causam tuam et uinces.  
 III ius dicis, l[onga] est causa, deuinces | in nouissimum.  
 IIII omnia . . . . . habes, | sed animus tuus denuntia-  
 bitur.  
 V si studeas, | potes esse orator | non mediocris sed bonus.  
 VI exsuperas quidem, sed in[firmaris].  
 VII tu n[on] laborabis [longo tempore] || et cito explicabis te de in-  
 firmitate.  
 [V]III in breui euades ualeitudinem, quam pateris.  
 [V]IIII in quem suspicaris, insiste in eum, | quia per istum inuenies.  
 X p[erdis] no[n] to[tu]m, et res tuas inuenies.  
 XI quod periit, inuenitur per indicem.  
 XII caute age et inuenies, quod quaeres.

## (XLII)

- I noli uereri [de h]ac causa aliquid; exsolueris.  
 II . . . . . habebis litem.  
 III dicis causam leuiter.  
 IIII causam dicis et iuras pa . . es omnia | nec de hac causa . . .  
 V . . . . . eris  
 VI s . . . . . | . . . . .  
 VII . . . . . | . . . . .  
 VIII ualde [la]borabis, [se]d exsuperas.  
 VIIII . . . . . dast . . . . . des operam.  
 X in quo suspicaris, ipse tulit sed cons | . . . . . es res tuas.  
 [XI] . . . . . ed . . . . . ||

(desunt responsum ultimum dodecadis XLII, nouem totae dodecades,  
 septem responsa dodecadis XLIII.)

## (XLIII)

- VIII capitale negotium habes, sed libe[raberis].  
 VIIII in dubio eris, sed euadis.  
 X age causam et uinces.  
 XI noli uereri de hac causa aliquid; | exsolueris.  
 XII et si habes litem, nihil e[ri]t.

## (XLIIII)

- I non poteris in plenius discere litte[ras].  
 II ad artificium non habet animus | filius tuus, sed operam discat, |  
 quia prode erit ei et datom illi est.

- III accipies argentum si bonus argen[ta]riu[s] uffē . . r . n . . . . . ur.  
 IIII aquam cum u . . . . . [ue]necium datum est s . . . . . h.  
 V tu da litteras pe . . tiag . . . . [i]n petras.  
 VI iniuriam pateris de stationem, | quam cupis.  
 VII in periculum putas ne[copi]num | te uenire; caute age et cum  
 gaudio | lucraris de re periculosa.  
 VIII non poteris l[iberari] de periculo.  
 VIIII capitalem negotium habes; non li[bera]ris] . . . . . || aut  
 certe fugeris.  
 [X] succurre tibi; accusaris de causa periculosa.  
 [XI] laborabis ualde sed euadis.  
 [XI]I grauem causam habes, sollicitus esto, | ne contra te sent[en]t[i]a  
 fera[tur].

## (XLV)

- [I] noli tristari . . . . . enti . . cap . dit.  
 [II] ad litteras non habet [ani]m[u]s tuus.  
 [II]I poterit artem dis[ce]r[e] filius tuus l . . . at.  
 [II]II licet habeas inuidos, [ac]cipies | argentum; n[o]l[i] agoniari.  
 [V] quam . . . . . non | putas differt.  
 [V]I qu . . . . . strad . . . . . a . . . | l . . . . . t . . . proderunt  
 tibi; nam | p . . . . . s quod cupis.  
 [V]II quod . . . . . do . i . ped . . s; accipies | stationem.  
 [V]II quod [assem] non habes, nihil est quod | timeas; negotia l . . .  
 nis habebis; lucrum | certum scito tibi de re periculosa.  
 [V]IIII liberatur de periculo, de quo consulis.  
 X causa capitalis; difficile liberabitur.  
 [XI] . . . . . lucraris. ||

(desunt plus undecim dodecades.)

## (XLVI)

(desunt octo responsa.)

- VIIII in domo quam t[ene]s, multos inim[i]cos habes, et uerere, ne  
 te effugen[t].  
 X quid suspicaris, dum domus tua | non sit obligata?  
 XI domus, in qua uis manere, mane, | quia utilis tutela est.  
 XII bonam tutelam [hab]et domus; | quid uereris?

## (XLVII)

- I uix expedit, quod cogitas.  
 II incipe, quia et tempus est.  
 III si laborare potueris, perficies quod u[is].

- IIII quod fabricare cogitas, in citius cadet.  
 V tu mallis a corpore curari | quam secari.  
 VI modo non expedit secari.  
 VII curari quidem ad tempus poteris.  
 VIII obligatus non es, sed temporis | beneficio imp . . . .  
 VIIII succurre tibi, quia medicamentatus [es].  
 X remediis tibi tuendum est, si uis | non fugari de domo.  
 XI noli soniari, quia non est obligata | domus tua.||  
 XII domus, in qua uis manere, utilis est | et utilem habet tutelam;  
 quid ueris?

## (XLVIII)

- I noli petere modo conneatum, ne pae[n]iteat te petisse; aut  
 enim cum periculo tuo erit, aut magno tibi constabit, | quia  
 uix poteris accipere conneatum.  
 II si quid cogitas, expedit cito.  
 III quid est incipio an uelis incipe nunc.  
 IIII deum roga, ut possis perficere, quod uis.  
 V cum tempus habes, fabrica.  
 VI sine nullo periculo curaberis, | si sectus fueris.  
 VII non expedit secari.  
 VIII tarde quidem, sed curari poteris.  
 VIIII non est maleficatus, sed magis es | subiectus.  
 X succurre tibi, quia a muliere | medicamentatus es.  
 XI fugari non potes de domo, in qua moraris.  
 XII succurre tibi, quia obligata est | domus tua.

## (XLVIII)

- I noli ponere sponsionem, quia haec ||  
*(desunt undecim responsa et dimidium dodecadis XLVIII et plus  
 undecim dodecades.)*

## (L)

*(desunt quinque responsa.)*

- VI inter uos patienter agite; quid | uobis cum iudice?  
 VII festina celerius ne incipiant | filii tui alio seruire.  
 VIII post modicum tempus uidebis | parentes tuos.  
 VIIII parum ages in ciuitate.  
 X si instans, consequeris honores, | sed et infamaueris.  
 XI bene tibi est; ut quid patriam | tuam desideras?  
 XII habes in fati patriam tuam uidere.

## (LI)

- I succurre tibi, ne praesignentur | bona tua.  
 II liberaberis a fisco, sed per amicum tuum.  
 III salua est fortuna tua, sed non tota.  
 IIII uix consequeris obsonium | quem uis accipere.  
 V accipies salarium in perpetuo.  
 VI accipies pignus, sed non cum inuidia.  
 VII adi iudicem, quia expedit tibi.  
 VIII filii tui te desiderant, et tu ad illos | festina et uidebis filios  
     tuos in sit . . . ||  
 VIIII si no . . . . . cum gloria redis | ad tuos [parentes].  
 X non . . . . .  
 XI nunc fac age periculum f . . tis cordis | guuernaris.  
 XII et si reuerteris, non constas | in patr[ia]m tuam.

## (LII)

- I in dubio est fortuna tua.  
 II quid ad te? non proscribuntur | bona tua; noli acidari.  
 III caue te, quia f[ugit]; custodiendus est.  
 IIII non est salua fortuna tua.  
 V non accipies modo obsonium.  
 VI non accipies modo salarium.  
 VII iuste accipies pignus; noli uereri.  
 VIII adi iudicem, et optinebis omnia, | quae cupis.  
 VIIII de sonio liberaris et deo adiuuante | ad filios tuos reue[rteris]  
     salu]us.  
 X cum gloria redies ad tuos parentes.  
 XI facit ad actum ciuitas, sed inuidiam | habebis.  
 XII . . . . . ||

## APPENDIX E.

### *The Munich Sortes Alearum.*

This system, as published by Winnefeld, in an appendix to his *Sortes Sangallenses*, is taken from a Munich MS. (Cod. Mon. 14846) of the tenth or eleventh century. It is a system of divination by dice, very similar in structure to the system of Pithoeus given above, and the actual *Sortes* will show some coincidence with the system referred to. Its peculiarity is that it has an auxiliary divination by letters, which are attached to the several oracles; their existence is also recognised in the *Sortes*, which contain such sentences as

h. III. I. I. haec littera prohibet unam quamque rem pro tempore ebdomadis, et postea inuenies si patiens fueris, etc.

where it seems that the enquirer has struck an unlucky number or letter and is sent away for a whole week. Is this the lucky or unlucky number of a special day of the week, or week of the month, or what? A similar deterrent note will be found in

t. IIII. IIII. IIII. caue ne decipiaris malorum insidiis, qui tibi insidiant, ut capient te. hac hora recede a sortibus meis

where the hour is said to be unpropitious. Either the hour was marked with an unlucky sign (letter or number<sup>1</sup>), or perhaps as in the system of Astrampsychus the actual question has been asked whether this is a good time to interrogate the *Sortes*.

The Latin is often corrupt and obscure.

<sup>1</sup> The throw VI. IV. I. is expressly said to be a lucky number: 'undecim tibi ipse letitiam facit.' In the Attalia-Tefeny *Sortes* this number is under the patronage of Νικη.

*Sortes Monacenses.**Deest a. VI. VI. VI.*

1. [e.] VIIII. V. (*lege* VI. VI. V) cautus tuus firmus sit, ut possis peruenire ad quod speras.

2. [i.] VI. VI. IIII. recte quod cogitas; noli timere; tenebis quod desideras et possideris illud quod optas. tempta infinire, dum tempus datur.

3. o. VI. VI. III. fortitudinis accede animo et contine benitas. nunc ingredieris; tibi deus adiutor tuus; quod postulas, eueniat tibi cum gaudio magno.

4. u. III. III. II. (*lege* VI. VI. II.) de hac re gaudebis et collegis fructum desiderii tui, sicut gaudet piscator, qui detulit praedam magnam, et habebis concordiam et spem bonam.

5. VI. VI. I. incredibiles es; non oportet; noceris autem; hec enim res de qua cogitas, caue ne depiaris. sors iubet te fugere; reuersus esto ab hoc consilio, quia multi serpentes ualidi latent.

6. VI. V. V. cautus esto atque nimium tementam bonitatem tibi adfert et damnum fueris, nisi cautus es. tantum certa uia est querere et quae petis et noli timere, quia peruenies locum quem desideras et deus in adiutorium erit tibi, si cautus fueris; sin autem

7. h. VI. V. IIII. illum magis retinere, quod tibi sompnum habes praesentem tractatum transiat. si quo modo uolueris, postea incipies poeniteri; nam quae consules, in tua potestate non est. pro enne inueniamini, quod magnum tibi uidetur, iam

8. l. VI. V. III. caue | ne dubites; iam nunc incipe et perficies quod desideras et peruenies ad in manibus tuis quod dubius esse; quod speras a te omitti non debet quod perueniet.

9. n. VI. V. II. totus animus tuus in uario cogitatu, sed caue tibi, ne sudore et labore perficies uel suis; ad quod desideras si possis.

10. m. VI. V. I. est recte quod cogitas; quod nunc incipe consules, cautum uide et fac magis quam queris, quam in tua potestate gaudebis.

11. g. VI. IIII. IIII. linguae blande loquitur; non serit. . es uerbi oris, ne captus postea penitueris; recessus est ab hoc consilio.

12. c. VI. IIII. III. non est tempus fatiendi huius rei; properare caue nec procesum habes; omittas; posterior ibi fructus dabitur quicquam; peruenies ad locum quem desideras uel ad desiderium tuum.

13. d. VI. IIII. II. quod cogitasti me | noli uincere aduersarius tuos et deus adiutorium dabit tibi; sed uide simplicitatem tuam, ne postea peniteris, quam uicinis tuis, cum ad te placitus fuerit, blandis te inducere querit.

14. f. VI. IIII. I. fides tua lurica est tibi; ne decipiaris; ueniet tibi hora, quae magnam letitiam adfert tibi, et ueniet tibi desiderium tuum bonum; securus esto et animus tuus firmus sit.

15. x. VI. III. III. de qua re primum cogitasti et sulasti inde magis gloriam habebis magnam et honorem in saeculo.

16. &. VI. III. II. deus rem tuam constituet et confirmet, quia bonam rem seruata; qui tibi inimici erant uinctos; peticio tua accepta erit. de quo perueniet tibi in breve tempore.

17. b. VI. IV. I. semper animus tuus in uario cogitatu; undecim tibi ipse letitiam facit; de qua re meditaris, adueniet tibi nuntius bonus cum gaudio magno et peruenies ad desieas.

18. p. VI. II. II. quod bonum expectas, adiuuat te deus; nunc lux est, incipe; tibi deus letitiam magnam et uenies ad quod desideras, si patiens fueris que uita triti est tibi.

19. q. VI. II. I. cogitatu magnus animus tuus; uinces opes et pedes; sed requiem cum deo habebis et oras deum tuum, ut possi ab ipso defendi; non fit tibi timor, | inimici tui cadent et adhuc melior eris.

20. f. VI. I. I. dolor illi uel offensio magna inminet, cui tenetur liber. caue perpetuam uitam; hac hora [recede] a sortibus meis, non dant tibi respossum.

21. V. V. V. qui te nocere cupit, noceat illum uirtus tua. consequeris uero spem tuam; dominum roga, ut peruenies ad desiderium tuum.

22. V. V. IIII. sicut seritur in terram tuam bonam, sic inuenies illud quod desideras. iam nunc incipe rem; quod cogitas erit in tua potestate. sicut uirgo qui seruit suum pudorem, ita principium huius rei bonum et finis | malum erit; et quod animo excides ueniet<sup>1</sup>.

23. o. V. V. II. duplex permanet animus tuus. nondum est tibi causa laboris, quod tibi times. nuncius cum claritate et quod postulas ultro perueniet cum gaudio magno in tua potestate, si patiens fueris.

24. h. V. V. I. noli quod ponis facere, quia effugit te ista res, quam desideras; recessus es et haec littera prohibent te.

25. u. V. IIII. IIII. rem quem queris inuenies sine dubio; tu iam incipe uel facere uel petere.

<sup>1</sup> V. V. IIII. is missing.



26. l. V. IIII. III. rem tuam custodi; spes et salus facta est in te, nam fluctu magno dabit tibi.

27. m. V. IIII. II. iubet te deus tuus, ut contentus fueris; quod cogitas, incipe facere; lucrum uel bonum adfert tibi.

28. p. V. IIII. I. quam rem curas ex amo donabit tibi deus idque gubernat ad illam; noli nimius incredibilis esse, quia in manibus tuis magnum fructum adquires.

29. h. V. III. III. non oportet hanc rem facere neque cogitare de fine, quod cogitas. caue simplicitatem tuam.

30. q. V. III. II. uenit mihi bonum et querens cor meum dabitur. deus tu conuersus uiuificabis nos et plebs tua letabitur in te.

31. d. V. III. I. | nulla sit tibi causa. in tam facile posset de hoc consilio; quiescere pusillum conare, nam melius tibi erit et peruenies ad quod cupis et habebis gaudium magnum.

32. n. V. II. II. cecus sum si hec faciam et perditionem facultatum uanam licet euentum fuerit, cum magno sudore perueniet in manibus tuis quod desideras.

33. s. V. II. I. domine deus meus implebit omnia quaecunque uolueris, si in sumptu us siue in itinere inuenies gaudium magnum.

34. r. V. III (*lege* V. I. I) tacitus esto de hac cogitatione; unde insidias times? quia non potes habere lucrum et et bonum consilium, an recede a sortibus meis; modo non dant tibi responsum.

35. t. IIII. IIII. IIII. caue ne decipiaris malorum insidiis, qui | tibi insidiant, ut capient te, hac hora recede a sortibus meis.

36. &. IIII. IIII. III. nuntius adueniet tibi cum gaudio magno quaecumque uis audire et uidere et accede ad locum quam desideras.

37. b. IIII. IIII. II. sine modo; nondum tibi tempus; sed pro modum inuenies gloriam; nihil protimeas. noli relinquere, si patiens fueris.

38. c. IIII. IIII. I. animus tibi paratum, tu moram facis; ad quem uis locum ire, ibi gratulaueris de eo pro cupis gaudium euenietur tibi.

39. g. IIII. III. III. adpraehendere te inimicus iam querit sine discrimine. deus gubernat, ideo in omnibus gaudebis.

40. a. IIII. III. II. quod optas, in manibus tuis continebis et dabit tibi in causa tuorum operum. ostenditur tibi bonum; sors indicat tibi.

41. c. IIII. III. I. tene quod meditaris, quia damnum ab eo accipies et conuertetur in laborem.

42. e. IIII. II. II. inuenies bonum quod queris et accipis fructum ex eo et prodiet tibi, sed age fideliter.

43. et. IIII. II. I. praemia rei accipere uere, sed melius quod data est; oportet te deum tuum orare; quod cogitas, spera; nuncius enim adueniet tibi cum gaudio magno et fructu.

44. r. IIII. I. I. non consenti uerbis oris inutilibus eius, quia blande loquitur tibi; audi prophetam dicentem: uenenum aspidum sub labiis eorum, quorum os maledictione. uitam currere (*haec duo uerba in rasura*) cupis; ideo modo tempus.

45. g. III. III. III. ne te moram | facere uellis, sed magis pete tibi gloriam a domino, ut petitiones animi tui inuenies. Christus crucifixus est ne his qui faciunt opera dei, neglegenter perhibunt.

46. g. III. III. II. leuitas hominis ne per te dolum decipiat; caue. faustus uetat te perdere cogitationibus tuis, quia cursus et fraus inuenietur tibi. caue alienum praestet; nam quod petis, non est tibi datum.

47. i. III. III. I. noli dubius esse, quia deus te gubernat, sed semper roga deum et sortes facere quod uis.

48. b. III. II. II. inualidum corpus, nimium properare; noli deficere animo; fortiter age, quia cum deo uiuo habebis requiem, si patiens fueris ad quod desideras<sup>1</sup>.

49. h. III. I. I. haec littera prohibet unam quamque rem pro tempore ebdomadis, et postea inuenies si patiens fueris; fremunt(?) omnes, si hoc faciam, quia non oportet implere, et sum humanus et non sum diuinus si hoc faciam.

50. l. II. II. II. gaudium mihi est in terra, uita aeterna in caelo cum deo, si hoc impleuero, quia in praeui tempore meliorem conditionem inuenies.

51. II. II. I. gloria et diuiciae in domo eius et iustitia eius manet in seculum seculi: ua (i) et tu domum habebis gloriam in hoc seculo et in hoc consilio<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> III. II. I. is missing.

<sup>2</sup> II. I. I. and I. I. I. are missing.

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 ΕΚ ΚΑΡΤΙΟΥ ΤΗ ΟΥΝ ΕΝΕΥΧΑΥΤΟΥ σεφύος  
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 ΚΑΙ ΚΑΘΙΣΤΕΙΝ ΤΟΝ ΘΡΟΝΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ προεΐδωσα  
λυσεν περ της  
 ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΕΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΥ

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ΠΕΣΕΤΑΙ ΕΦΗΜΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΒΟΥΝΟΙΣ  
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Appendices: A. Sortes alearum in Greek verse.-  
B. The Latin and Provençal system of Sortes.-  
C. The Sortes of Astrampsychus [Greek].- D. The  
Sortes sangallenses [Latin].- E. The Munich Sortes  
alearum [Latin].

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